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THESIS

**THE MODERN OLYMPIC MOVEMENT:
THE CONFLUENCE OF REALISM AND IDEALISM**

by

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June 1999

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The Olympic Games have always been more than mere athletic competition. Given that they are a focal point for billions of people around the world for a brief two-week period, the Games are a natural forum to play out ideological and political battles. The Games have been used as the site of symbolic battles between nations, as well as a stage in which individuals, groups, and nations have made political statements. However, they have also been a powerful global symbol of unity, excellence, and peace.

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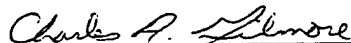
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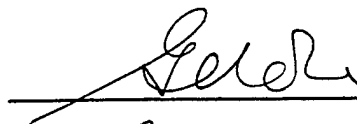


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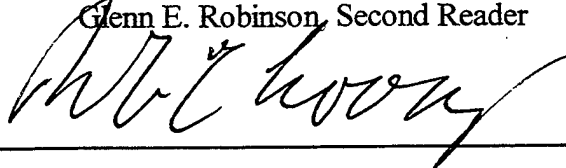
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ABSTRACT

To paraphrase Clausewitz, the modern Olympic Games have often been politics and war by other means. The Olympics have been both a barometer of and an arena for international politics, in spite of the fact that they were revived specifically not to be held hostage to the politics of the day. This thesis examines the Olympic movement from its rebirth in 1894 through today and the proposition that the realism of international politics has affected the character of the Games. This study also argues, however, that the Olympic ideals have had a confluent affect in the arena of international politics and society.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Olympics are more than athletic competition. For more than one hundred years, the Games have become the focal point for an ever-growing audience from nearly every region on earth. They have been a stage for individuals, groups, or states to express their interests, beliefs, or plight. Also, the Games have been a powerful global symbol of unity, excellence and peace. They have been cancelled due to world wars and have provided a medium for diplomatic relations to be established. Athletes have been killed and nations have been able to assert their identity as nations among other nations.

This thesis examines the Olympic movement during three eras: the age of innocence (1890s-1952), the formative years (1952-1988) and the defining of a new world order (1988-present). The overarching dilemma facing the Olympic Games, throughout their modern history, is the confluence of the constant use of political motives and ideologies for non-Olympic gains and the charge of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to uphold its principles as envisioned by the founder of the modern Olympic movement, Baron de Coubertin in the 1890s. The study determined that not only did the realism of international politics and society affect the character of the Games, but the Olympic ideals had a confluent affect on international politics and society.

There are very few historical experiences that the world holds in common. The Olympic Games are one. Unquestionably, to paraphrase Clausewitz, the modern Olympic movement has often been politics and war by other means. However, the Games have also helped many believe they are a citizen of the world. This is the paradox of the modern Olympic movement.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Olympics can be viewed as a microcosm of the world: a crucible of symbolic forces into which the hopes, dreams, experiences, and prejudices of individuals, social groups, and nations are examined, exchanged, and occasionally flaunted. This microcosm can be examined in three distinct eras: the age of innocence (1890s-1952), the formative years (1952-1988) and the defining of a new world order (1988-present).

Any discussion of the Olympic Games should not be held without a basic knowledge of the ancient Games, which will be briefly discussed in the next section. The purpose of this study is to examine the modern Olympic movement during three eras: the age of innocence, the formative years, and the post-Cold War years. During each era, this study has found that the realism of international politics and society has affected the character of the Games. On the other hand, this research has also documented the extent to which the Olympic ideals have had a confluent affect in the arena of international politics and society during the same eras.

The age of innocence witnessed the rebirth of the Olympic Games as the culmination of Pierre de Coubertin's attempt to right what he believed were France's physical, moral, and intellectual woes. It was also during this period that politics threatened to end the Games as a result of World Wars and an attempt to use the Games to advance a political ideology.

The second era begins with the entrance of the Soviet Union into the Olympic movement and the clash of the two superpowers and the systems they each claimed to represent. While it is tempting to call this period the "age of boycotts," the goals and actions of the Olympic leadership were still in keeping with Olympic ideals despite the use of the Olympic "stage" by state, militant, and individuals to display and forward their ideologies.

With the ending of the Cold War, the third era witnesses the decline of state-level political intrusion. However, a rise in global societal debates concerning drugs; the over-commercialization of the Games; the benefits and dependence upon television, both as sources of revenue and the goal of increasing the global Olympic audience; and necessity of restructuring the International Olympic Committee (IOC) have come to the forefront of the Olympic movement. While each of these societal issues are worthy of and have been subjects of more in-depth study, they will not be discussed at any great length here.¹ Instead, this study will conclude with an examination of how the modern Olympic movement has been affected by the establishment of the new world order.

In the end, sport remains a cultural value etched indelibly into the lives of most people throughout the world. Whether participating in or witnessing the Olympic Games in Olympic venues or from thousands of miles away on television, one of the few rituals that regularly bring the people of the world together is the Olympic Games. The world holds its collective breath as athletes hurtle down the track, plunge perilously down mountain slopes, and flout gravity on the balance beam, the springboard, and the ice. Billions are riveted by these glimpses of pure, realized potential. In a world of increasing dependence on virtual reality, the Olympics are one arena in which real human heroes reach levels of physical performance that the rest of us can only dream of. It is a dream that pulls us back, again and again, no matter how strident the politics of the moment or how vast the challenge of gathering together the world's family, once again, for this ultimate spectacle of sport.

¹ Suggested readings include Robert Voy, *Drugs, Sport, and Politics* (Champaign: Leisure Press, 1991); Miquel de Moragas Spà, Nancy K. Rivenburgh, and James F. Larson, eds., *Television in the Olympics* (London: John Libbey and Company, 1995); Michael Payne, "100 Years of Olympic Marketing," in *The IOC Official Olympic Companion, 1996*, ed. Caroline Searle and Bryn Vaile (London: Brassey's Sports, 1996); and the monthly newsletter from the International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Marketing Matters*.

A. THE ANCIENT GAMES

The beginning of the explanation of this global cultural phenomenon evolves from the experience of the ancient Greek world. The Greece of antiquity, of course, is assigned its place in the ancient world by chronology. In truth, though, the Greek society was modern and different from its contemporaries. Besides having a tremendous influence in the development of what is coined "Western civilization" today, no other culture placed more value on sport and glorification of the human body. It has taken over two thousand years for human beings to approach these values once again.²

Crucial toward an understanding of the ancient Games is the context in which they evolved. Early Greek culture was markedly military in character. Keen rivalries and competition for commercial dominance and protection of self-interests often led to confrontations, with war not uncommonly the final arbiter. As such, competitive sporting activities were largely associated with contests featuring basic military expertise of the times: running, hand-to-hand combat, and chariot driving. In the same sense that war does not allow for a second or third place winner, Olympic victory alone brought glory: participation, games-playing for its own sake, was no virtue; defeat brought undying shame.³

The origins of the Greek passion for competitive games will likely never be determined. The earliest, and most famous, account appears in the earliest work of Greek literature to survive, Homer's *Iliad*, which narrates at length the games, including a chariot race, a foot race, boxing, wrestling, and weight throwing, Achilles organized to

² Robert K. Barney, "Prologue," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood, 1996), xxi.

³ Moses I. Finley and H.W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years*, (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 20. An opposing view concerning the virtue of participation will be espoused by Baron Pierre de Coubertin forty years after the rebirth of the Olympic Games: "the important thing in the Olympic Games is not winning but taking part. Just as in life, the aim is not to conquer but to struggle will." Ute Schwabe, "Pierre de Coubertin," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 356.

accompany the burial rites of his comrade Patroclus, killed by Hector in individual combat before the gates of Troy.⁴

Throughout its history, Olympia remained a sacred precinct, which didn't develop into a city-state, but was controlled by the city of Elis. The Olympic Games were founded in 776 B.C.E. because Olympia was already an established sacred site, not the other way around. This date is etched into the record because the ancient Olympic victor list commences from that year although athletic activities were certainly carried out at the site long before 776 B.C.E. in keeping with Achaean and Dorian religious ceremonies.

Religious ceremonies occupied a substantial part of the five-day period of the Games, the normal duration once the Games had achieved their classical organization in the fifth century B.C.E. The first day was primarily devoted to worship of the gods, to sacrifices, offerings, and prayers both by officials and by athletes. The morning of the third day was reserved for more religious ceremony, culminating in the sacrifice of one hundred oxen on the great altar of Zeus. The Games culminated on the final day with celebrations and a banquet in the Magistrates' House for all the victors with further sacrifices and thank-offerings.

The five-day period of the Games was fixed according to a complicated religious calendar, "so that the third day of the Games always coincided with either the second or the third full moon after the summer solstice."⁵ Heralds would be sent to every corner of Hellas proclaiming the forthcoming Games. A 'sacred truce' or *ekecheiria* protected the competitors, who were required to arrive in Elis at least one month prior to the commencement of the Games in order to train under the supervision of the judges, and spectators. While the sacred truce never stopped a war, it did prevent wars from disrupting the Games, above all by insuring the safe passage to and from Olympia for the athletes and spectators from warring Greek factions and other types of harassment. While

⁴ Finley and Pleket, 19.

⁵ Ibid., 26.

no records survive, violators of the truce, if apprehended, were to be fined heavily according to the 'Olympic law'.⁶

The first twelve Olympiads consisted of only one event, the *stade*, or stadium run, of approximately 200 meters. By 648 B.C.E., a set program of events had evolved. Besides the *stade*, it included additional running events of 400 and 4800 meters, wrestling, boxing, pankration (combination of wrestling, boxing, and judo), pentathlon, and chariot racing. Athletic events for boys aged 12-18 were introduced in 632 B.C.E. At various times, other events occurred, including a race in armor and equestrian contests for mules. For almost a thousand years, Olympia's program stood in place, the supreme model for others to emulate.

By the time of Christ, several factors had become apparent in the slow erosion of Greek athletics and the ancient Olympic Games. Prominent among them was the influence of Rome, which had reduced Greece to an occupied province by the middle of the second century. While the Games were still conducted without interruption, track and field activities, the foundation of the ancient Greek festivals, declined in favor of violent, combative events of Roman character. However, Olympic victory retained its glory such that "in 67 [C.E.] – more than two hundred years after Greece had become a Roman province – the Emperor Nero made special arrangements to compete in the Olympic Games, proclaiming himself winner in six events."⁷

By far the most damaging factor to Rome was the rise of Christianity with its hopes and dreams for something better than the degradation characteristic of later Roman civilization. In time, the Greek temples and altars were razed. Sport, associated from its very beginning with the gods of antiquity, was also attacked and the Olympic victory lists are silent of any activity after 281 C.E. The Christian emperor Theodosius I issued a decree in 393 C.E. abolishing in word what had disappeared in deed over a century earlier:

⁶ Ibid., 99 and Barney, xxx.

⁷ Susan Wels, *The Olympic Spirit: 100 Years of the Games* (Hong Kong: Tehabi Books Inc., 1995), 34.

“the ancient Olympic Games, supreme emblem of ancient paganism.”⁸ It would be fourteen hundred years before German archaeologist Ernst Curtius began to clear away the debris left by razing, earthquakes, and the river Kladeus altering course and bring the lost ruins and spirit of Olympia to light.

B. THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN OLYMPICS

Slightly more than fifteen hundred years after Theodosius I officially abolished the Olympics, they once again were celebrated in their ancient home of Greece. While not held at Olympia, the Greeks were enthusiastic hosts in Athens. However, the Greeks can not be credited with their rebirth. That distinction belongs to Baron Pierre de Coubertin and his sense of patriotic duty to France.

Born on January 1, 1863, he grew up in the shadows of France’s military defeats to the Germans in 1870-1871. Bound by his sense of duty and honor, he believed he could best help bring new life and strength to his country, via the French youth, by devoting his life to improving the French physical educational system. On visits to England, he became fascinated by the role of sport in British education. There he determined that “muscular Christianity” and “athleticism” constituted a fundamental part of British imperial greatness: sport infused the “moral discipline” that built “character,” producing the future leaders of the empire.⁹ He concluded that competitive sport could serve as a vehicle for a “great pedagogical reform” in France and would strengthen all aspects of physical, moral, and intellectual growth.¹⁰

Hence, the modern Games were born of an idealistic and romantic conception of sport and in keeping with the values of a Victorian culture that viewed sport as a moral

⁸ Barney, xxxviii.

⁹ Alfred E. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1999), 20.

¹⁰ Ibid.

and social rather than an economic and political endeavor. In Coubertin's own words, "I called for their revival, thinking not merely of France or England, Greece or Italy, but of humanity in general."¹¹ He would later declare that the revival of the Olympic Games on a basis conforming to the conditions of modern life would bring together every four years the representatives of the nations of the world and these courteous and peaceful contests would constitute the highest of international activities.¹²

Coubertin exploited the image of the ancient Games, but he also created a different character in keeping with the "condition of modern life." Simply by calling them "Olympics," a desirable aura of idealized athletic quadrennial competition was implicit. However, his Games would see "modern" sports being contested by athletes from all countries, not only Greeks or occupiers of Greece. Other alterations would include the entrance of team sports, the concept of amateurism, and the participation of women.¹³

Perhaps the most significant modification was its source of reverence. The ancient Games had evolved from religious rituals (the worship of Zeus) and Coubertin viewed sport as a form of religion: sport should serve as a means of seeking perfection. However, he developed a ritual that replaced Zeus with the loyalty to one country: "if the image of God were replaced for each athlete by the flag of his country, the grandeur of the

¹¹ Pierre de Coubertin, "Why I Revived the Olympic Games," in *The Olympic Games in Transition*, ed. Jeffrey O. Segrave and Donald Chu (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1988), 102.

¹² As quoted in Jeffrey O. Segrave and Donald Chu, eds., "The Future of the Games," *The Olympic Games in Transition* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1988), 387-8.

¹³ Team competition is unique to the modern Games, but I was unable to find additional sources that address this topic. For further discussion on amateurism see Harold J. Vanderzwaag, "Amateurism and the Olympic Games" in *The Modern Olympics*, ed. Peter J. Graham and Horst Ueberhorst (Cornwall, New York: Leisure Press), 83-106 and Andrew Strenk, "Amateurism: The Myth and the Reality," in *The Olympic Games in Transition*, ed. Jeffrey O. Segrave and Donald Chu (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1988), 308-27. Additional sources on the topic of women within the Olympic movement include Wayne Wilson, "The IOC and the Status of Women in the Olympic Movement," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 67, No 2 (June 1996): 183-192 and Jan Rintala and Judith A. Bischoff, "Persistent Resistance: Leadership Positions for Women in the Olympic Sport Governing Bodies," *Olympika* 6 (1997): 1-24.

ceremony could surely not fail to be enhanced.”¹⁴ He came to see the Olympics, his own creation, as the foundation of a new world order.

This new world order, or “theory of internationalism” is best regarded as a kind of “moral epistemology,” knowing others (their core beliefs, values, cultural history, and many other aspects which forms their ‘life’) is the prerequisite to treating them with proper moral discernment and respect.¹⁵ Coubertin was convinced that international order and harmony were contingent upon frequent contact between nations. Additionally, he believed that it was necessary for nations to respect rather than merely tolerate one another. Furthermore, he argued that sports provides an opportunity for “impassioned soaring” and explained how sports played out on an international stage provides not just as an occasion for mingling with other cultures, but for penetrating their core beliefs and aspirations.¹⁶

Coubertin coined the term “Olympism” to express his philosophy and possessed four goals: “to educate and cultivate the individual through sport, ... to cultivate the relation between men in society, ... to promote international understanding and peace, [and] ... to worship human greatness and possibility.”¹⁷ Two of the fundamental principles of the current IOC charter also center on Coubertin’s vision of Olympism:

Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on joy found in

¹⁴ As quoted in Senn, 28.

¹⁵ William J. Morgan, “Coubertin’s Theory of Olympic Internationalism: A Critical Reinterpretation,” *Critical Reflections on Olympic Ideology*, ed. Robert K. Barney and Klaus V. Meier, Second International Symposium for Olympic Research, Centre for Olympic Studies (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1994), 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁷ Sigmund Loland, “Pierre de Coubertin’s Ideology of Olympism from the Perspective of the History of Ideas,” *Critical Reflections on Olympic Ideology*, ed. Robert K. Barney and Klaus V. Meier, Second International Symposium for Olympic Research, Centre for Olympic Studies (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1994), 36-8.

effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.

Also,

The goal of Olympism is to place everywhere sport at the service of the harmonious development of man, with a view to encouraging the establishment of a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.¹⁸

In June 1894 at the Sorbonne in Paris, Coubertin had convinced seventy-nine representatives from twelve countries to attend an international congress for a "Study of the Question of Amateurism." During this congress, he raised the possibility of reviving the Olympic Games. Not only was this idea accepted by a unanimous vote, but the congress also approved twelve members, selected by Coubertin, to become the "founding fathers" of the IOC with Coubertin elected as the secretary-general.

The fundamental basis of the IOC, that of absolute independence for each member, has not changed to the present day. Coubertin selected each member because each was "[f]inancially independent and without known political connections, their viewpoint was capable of greater internationalism. They could be counted on to support whatever was for the interest of the Olympic Movement, even against their own country."¹⁹ It was essential that this first group value internationalism above nationalism. Unlike ambassadors, members of the 1894 Committee (and all subsequent members) were not representatives of their respective countries to the IOC. Rather, they were members of the IOC to the nations of the world. This system continues today. The IOC selects its members from its member countries rather than countries electing members to the IOC.

¹⁸ International Olympic Committee, "Fundamental Principles," *The Olympic Charter*, available online <http://www.olympic.org> [12 August 1998].

¹⁹ John A. Lucas, "The Genesis of the Modern Olympic Movement," *The Olympic Games in Transition*, ed. Jeffrey O. Segrave and Donald Chu (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1988), 94.

Coubertin believed that "[t]he very fact that this Committee is self-recruiting makes it immune to all political interference, and it is not swayed by intense nationalism."²⁰

On Easter Sunday, April 5, 1896, the first modern Olympic Games began in the country where they had ended fifteen hundred years earlier. Coubertin's dream had been fulfilled. Today, every even-numbered year (according to the current Gregorian calendar), the Olympic Games offer a worldwide audience strong and deep experiences in a setting of rituals and ceremonies in which human possibility is celebrated and cherished. Coubertin never intended the Games to be symbolic ideological battles between nations, nor were they intended to be a theater for individuals, groups, and countries to make political statements. The Olympics were not founded for the benefit of corporate business or as a proving ground for medical technology. They were not established so that athletes could make their fortunes nor was their main function to provide television entertainment for billions. Yet, in the course of just over one hundred years, they have become all these things.²¹

Indeed the Games have been a focal point of state policies and national ambitions. Ultimately, participation became a public affirmation of international recognition. The Olympic Games have, at times, resembled a disabled boat adrift in stormy international waters. However, they have remained something "more than pure entertainment. ... They are occasions in which as a culture or a society we repeat upon and define ourselves, dramatize our collective myths and history, present ourselves with alternatives, and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others."²² It is the hope that this study will not only chart the course of selected Olympic events, but also discover the Olympics have had a calming affect on the stormy international waters.

²⁰ As quoted in Ibid. With the entrance of the Soviet Union in 1952, the idea of a country not electing its members was challenged. Additionally, the bribery scandal associated with the Salt Lake City Games scheduled for 2002 certainly questions the idea that IOC members are "immune to all political interference."

²¹ Segrave and Chu, 388.

²² As quoted in Loland, 39.

II. THE AGE OF INNOCENCE

The modern Olympic Games began as the brainchild of a French nobleman, Baron Pierre de Coubertin as a result of the national shame that he felt after France's defeat during the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. He envisioned an international, multi-sport competition that would take place in a different region every four years. While he certainly hoped that the Games would become the athletic spectacle they would become, he could not have predicted that by the time of his death in 1937, they would also become a focal point of state policies and national ambitions. This chapter will first examine the Games during Coubertin's tenure as Secretary-General and later President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Secondly, the impact of the World Wars on the Olympic movement will be discussed. The chapter will conclude with a closer review of the 1936 Berlin Games.

A. COUBERTIN'S GAMES

On April 6, 1896, the modern Olympic Games were inaugurated in Athens, Greece, more than fifteen hundred years after the last Olympic competition was held in Olympia. As previously discussed, the modern Games were revived by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, for nationalistic reason, in hopes of promoting physical health and to bring social classes together, which was desirable in the new age of democracy. While he had favored starting the Games in 1900 to correspond with Paris hosting an international exposition, a decision he would later regret, the delegates at the Sorbonne conference in 1894 convinced him that six years was too long to wait and proposed the Games be started in 1896. It was the Greek delegate to this conference, Demetrios Vikelas, who suggested that in the light of the history of the ancient Games, the first modern Games

should be held in Athens.²³ According to Coubertin's own account, the King of the Hellenes had telegraphed the conference stating he favored the Games being held in Athens.²⁴

After the initial excitement of hosting the Games, it soon became apparent that the Greek government, on the verge of bankruptcy, would not commit their support. The Prime Minister would be the most vocal opponent of the Games. However, after Coubertin met with sport officials and gave speeches promoting the Games, Crown Prince Constantine announced that he would head an organizational committee with Vikelas. The general public, especially small businessmen and taxi drivers, became very enthusiastic about the Games.²⁵ Funds were secured through issuing a set of commemorative stamps, a promise from the government to not collect taxes from the gate receipts, and by appealing to the citizens, especially the aristocracy. One such donor was George Averoff, who lived in Alexandria, Egypt. He pledged to pay for the restoration of the stadium, originally constructed in 330 B. C., at an estimated cost of 1 million drachmas.²⁶

With funding secured, Coubertin personally undertook the task of sending invitations to countries urging them to participate, planning the program of sports to be contested, choosing the design of the medals and diplomas to be awarded as prizes, and designing the velodrome for the cycling events. One of the more difficult tasks was to garner German support and participation. The Germans, only twenty-five years earlier, had defeated the French during the Franco-Prussian War. While the Germans were not invited to the Sorbonne conference and despite his anti-German feelings, Coubertin felt it

²³ Joanna Davenport, "Athens 1896," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 4.

²⁴ Christopher R. Hill, *Olympic Politics: Athens to Atlanta 1896-1996*, 2d ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁶ Davenport, 4.

necessary for a German team to participate in Athens, "thereby making a significant contribution to the international character of the gathering."²⁷

The opening ceremonies took place in the afternoon of April 6th. Since there had been no advance ticket selling for the ceremonies, over 40,000 people were trying to buy tickets. The demand had been so great that shrewd spectators were buying whole blocks of tickets and reselling them for a profit.²⁸ In other words, scalping occurred during the first modern Games. There were 311 male athletes (women were not allowed to compete until 1900), all but 81 from Greece, from thirteen countries. Most came at their own expense for an Olympic program that had nine sports and forty-three events. The competition was spirited and the spectators were enthusiastic. The most anticipated event was the marathon, which was won by Spiridon Loues, a Greek soldier. While, the event was to be a symbolic race to commemorate the battle of Marathon in 490 B. C., the Greek victory inspired a wave of nationalism that would lead to calls from the public, as well as the King, for Athens to remain the "continuous and permanent field for the Olympic Games."²⁹

Coubertin had never intended on the Games to be hosted permanently by a single country. He believed that if the Greeks ever succeeded with this lofty ambition, it would be the end of his dream and the modern Olympic Games. In an 1896 article he wrote, "In Congress at Paris in 1894, it was agreed that every country should celebrate the Olympic Games in turn."³⁰ In what must be considered as a compromise to the Greeks, he suggested that Greece host Pan Hellenic Games during non-Olympic years with the first competition be held in 1898. While the Greeks were unable to host these Games after

²⁷ Senn, 23.

²⁸ Davenport, 6.

²⁹ Ibid., 9.

³⁰ As quoted in Ibid.

their defeat in a war with Turkey, the first, and ultimately only, "intercalated" Games were held in 1906.

With the selection of Paris to host the 1900 Games, and also as a result of decisions made at the 1894 Sorbonne Conference, the presidency of the IOC shifted from a Greek to a Frenchman. Since Coubertin was the only French member of the IOC, he now presided over the IOC in an official capacity. However, he would not relinquish his position four years later. As IOC president, he was to organize the 1900 Games. He would encounter many difficulties, the most crucial being lack of support from the French government and the leading French sport association (USFSA), of which he was the secretary-general. In the end, he was able to persuade both organizations to sponsor the Games and to stage them in conjunction with the International Exposition. This concession led to great confusion within the sporting world and, for two reasons, arguably caused the Games to not be contested in 1900.

First, Coubertin had wanted to recreate the ancient site of Olympia at the exposition in hopes that "such a glorification of sport would focus attention on the Olympic movement and promote internationalism through athletic competition."³¹ However, the engineer of the Exposition scrapped the idea since it did not match his vision of showcasing French culture and civilization in a more profitable setting. To this end, sports such as skating and fencing were part of the cutlery section, rowing fell under lifesaving, and track and field was categorized with provident societies.³² As a further insult to Coubertin, another USFSA member was named as the director-general of the athletic contests. As a result, the relationship between the IOC and USFSA, which was responsible for the sporting events of the Exposition, was disavowed. With the lack of IOC involvement, it can be argued that the Games had been abandoned in 1900.

³¹ Reet Ann Howell and Max L. Howell, "Paris 1900," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 12.

³² *Ibid.*, 13.

Secondly, the "Games" lasted from May 20 to October 28, with no official opening or closing ceremonies. World amateur and professional championships were also held during this period, which led to many competitors not knowing they had competed in the Olympic Games.³³ Many wouldn't know until 1912 or later when the IOC would determine which events and contests would be designated as Olympic contests and medals could be awarded. Official records give the number of competitors as 1,319, which included eleven females (nine of which were golfers), and the number of nations competing as twenty-two.³⁴ The movement that showed so much promise in 1896 seemed to collapse only four years later.

With the troubles surrounding Paris, Coubertin must have hoped that moving the Games off the European continent and away from international expositions would restore their luster. His decision would be made easier when only Chicago and St. Louis were the only cities to put forward bids.³⁵ The St. Louis bid was to advance the Games to 1903 so that they could correspond to the scheduled 1903 World's Fair. With memories of Paris still stinging, it is not surprising that Chicago won the bid to host the Games in 1904. However, over the next two years, a series of events occurred that allowed St. Louis to replace Chicago as the host.

When the U.S. Congress passed legislation funding the fair, organizers had two years to organize the fair. The organizers determined that they would be unable to complete construction in time and was awarded a one-year extension. With the extension, the fair organizers became interested in tying the Olympic Games and World Fair together in hopes of boosting interest in both events. Fair organizers went on the state that if the Games were not moved to St. Louis, they would stage their own athletic events, thus

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 14. It must be noted that women competed in the "Games" solely because Coubertin was not in control of the athletic program. As previously discussed, he was adamantly opposed to their participation.

³⁵ C. Robert Barnett, "St. Louis 1904," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 18.

potentially damaging the Games.³⁶ While Coubertin and the IOC did not want to encounter the same fiasco as Paris, they relented to St. Louis' demands and agreed on December 23, 1903 to move the Games. Again they had allowed the Olympics to become only a sideshow attraction to the much larger international exposition. Coubertin was so distraught over the decision, he did not travel to St. Louis to attend the Games.

Few European athletes would participate in the 1904 Games. Of the 617 athletes representing the twelve countries that participated in the Games, 525 were American and 41 were Canadian.³⁷ Americans would win 81 of the possible 94 gold medals and captured 242 of the 269 medals awarded.³⁸ Germany, Hungary, Canada, and Cuba were the only other countries to claim medal winners. Much like Paris, the Games were stretched to cover the five-month period of the fair. Due to its failure to attract greater numbers of international athletes, the politics surrounding the changing of the host city, and their subservient position to the World's Fair (more so than in Paris), these Games are considered by many to be "the worst in the history of the Olympic movement."³⁹

When Greece decided to host the 1906 Pan Hellenic Games, Coubertin and IOC welcomed the idea of the Games returning to Athens. With the failure of the previous two Games, it was hoped that the enthusiasm that centered on the Games ten years earlier would be evident again. Nearly 900 athletes from twenty countries would participate in these Games with over 50,000 spectators viewing the opening ceremonies.⁴⁰ However, Coubertin was concerned that the Greeks still desired to be the permanent host of the Games and chose not to attend the Games. Despite their success and arguably due to the

³⁶ Ibid., 19.

³⁷ Senn, 26.

³⁸ Barnett, 22.

³⁹ Ibid., 18.

⁴⁰ Karl Lennartz, "Athens 1906," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 27-8.

quadrennial nature of the Olympics, Coubertin would exclude these Games from his official Olympic count, leaving them to be known as interim or intercalated Games.⁴¹

The 1908 Games had originally been awarded to Italy. However, when Mt. Vesuvius erupted in 1906, the Italian government would relinquish the right to host the Games when it was determined that it did not have the resources to recover from the disaster as well as finance the Games. With such a short lead-time, the IOC accepted London's offer to host the Games despite their linkage to another World's Fair. Unlike Paris and St. Louis, the organizers ensured the Games themselves were the feature attraction. These would be the largest Games to date with some 2,000 athletes from twenty-three nations competing.⁴² These Games, however, would also witness more controversy than its predecessors.

From the opening ceremonies onward, an intense rivalry between the hosts and the U.S. endured. During the opening ceremonies, the U.S. flag, as well as those of Sweden and Finland, were not flown in the stadium. In protest, some Swedes left the Games and Ralph Rose, the American flag bearer, refused to dip the American flag when passing before King Edward. During the marathon race, British officials, in a clear violation of the rules, aided an Italian runner "struggling and in pain, more than likely unable to finish the race" across the finish line ahead of an American.⁴³ In the end, the American was awarded the gold medal. British officials declared the Americans were "being poor sportsmen" and Queen Alexandra presented the Italian runner a personal gift, a cup, as well as an Olympic wreath during the closing ceremonies that further incited the Americans.⁴⁴ Other protests

⁴¹ Senn, 26.

⁴² Ibid., 27.

⁴³ James R. Coates, Jr., "London 1908," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 36. A photograph of the Italian lying on the track "within sight of the finish" with his head in the lap of a British official can be found in David Wallechinsky, *The Complete Book of the Olympics* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 133i (photo #38).

⁴⁴ Coates, 36, 38.

would be lodged during the tug-of-war, 400-meter run, and the pole vault. Because the Americans were not the only ones protesting the biased judging and officiating, the IOC decided that all further Olympic officials would be selected by the International Federations, not the host country.

Despite the controversial nature of the 1908 Games, they were helpful in furthering the Olympic movement. No longer would the Games be subservient to other events and participation and global interest has increased with nearly every subsequent staging of the Games. However, they were also to become mired in the global political arena as well. Coubertin acknowledged that the "Games were becoming an affair of State," but he argued that such conflict had given the Games "added interest."⁴⁵

With the European continent already divided between Central and Entente Powers and World War I only two years away, the political "interest" in the Games was surprisingly minimal. The extent of the "interest" centered on Finland and Bohemia and their demand that their "national" flag be raised in case of victory. While neither country was an independent nation, they were part of Russia and Austria respectively, a compromise was reached: the hoisting of a "national" streamer above the Russian or Austrian flag. The rules of amateurism were also an issue for these Games. American Jim Thorpe had won the gold medal in both the decathlon and the traditional pentathlon. However, he was stripped of his medals after it was revealed that he had accepted money to play baseball.⁴⁶ Finally, boxing would not be contested since Swedish law prohibited it as a sport.

Overall, these Games would be the most international in character and closest to Coubertin's ideals. Nearly 2,500 athletes from twenty-eight nations would compete and the first Olympic art competitions were carried out in five categories: architecture,

⁴⁵ As quoted in Senn, 30.

⁴⁶ It was the American press that revealed his professional status and it was the American officials, not the IOC or the International Amateur Athletic Foundation (IAAF), that demanded that his medals be withdrawn. Coubertin approved of the enforcement of the Olympic standards, but one must wonder if there were other underlying, possibly racially motivated, factors that caused such a fervor within the U.S.

literature, music, painting, and sculpture.⁴⁷ Japan became the first Asian country to compete and by all accounts the officiating was unbiased. Technological advancements including timing devices, photography to assist in determining close finishes, and a public address system were introduced at these Games. Sweden's ability, as a neutral country, to bridge the growing political gap was viewed as a hope for universal peace.⁴⁸ This, however, would not come to fruition.

Although Coubertin would suggest a truce, the Games of 1916, scheduled for Berlin, would be canceled as a result of World War I. His belief that he was a Frenchman first and foremost, led him to leave his duties as IOC president while he fought for the French during the war. Prior to his departure, he moved the IOC headquarters from Paris to its current home of Lausanne, Switzerland, where it could enjoy a more neutral setting. He would resume the presidency in 1919 and hold the position until 1925.

The final years of his presidency would witness a reinvigorated Coubertin with an aim of the Games becoming a "religious ceremony" that would be "sufficiently neutral in character to rise above all differences in doctrine."⁴⁹ It is during this period that he unfurled the Olympic flag, developed the athlete's oath, and the Olympic motto, all of which is still prevalent in today's Games. He also agreed that winter games should also be part of the Olympic movement. While he was initially skeptical, he would later describe winter sports as being "so truly amateur, so frank and so pure in their sporting dignity, that their complete exclusion from the Olympic programme deprived it of much force and value."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Horst Ueberhorst, "Stockholm 1912," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 41. Coubertin was awarded one of the literary prizes for his "Ode to Sport," which he had submitted under a pseudonym.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁹ Senn, 37. For Coubertin, sport was viewed as a form of religion: "sport should serve as a means of seeking perfection." Ibid., 28.

⁵⁰ As quoted in Ibid., 40.

However, exhausted by his projects, the war, and bouts with depression, he and his wife were unable to maintain their living standard.⁵¹ As he worked on charting a course for the Olympic movement after his departure, he was able to return the Games to his beloved Paris one final time in 1924. However, he would not have an easy transition into retirement when the French government ordered the movement of French troops into the Ruhr to enforce reparations claims on Germany, nearly forcing the Games to be moved to Los Angeles.

The Paris Games completed, Coubertin carried out his promise to retire. The last Games held during his lifetime would be the Berlin Games of 1936. He was unable to attend the Games due to his ill health. However, some 110,000 people in the stadium, listeners to an overseas radio network, and viewers of the first commercial television audience were to hear his famous words during the welcoming speech: "the important thing in the Olympic Games is not winning but taking part. Just as in life, the aim is not to conquer but to struggle well."⁵² Pierre de Coubertin died on September 2, 1937 at the age of 74 and was buried in Lausanne. According to his last will, his heart was buried in Greece at the Archaia Olympia.

By the time of his death, the Olympics had become a grand spectacle supported by ambitious hosts who often had motives other than the sheer joy of sport competition. Since his death, the Olympic movement has continuously espoused Coubertin's ideologies, but has been unable to meet his lofty goals of educating and cultivating the individual through sport, cultivating the relation between men in society, promoting international understanding and peace, and worshipping human greatness and possibility.⁵³ "In real life, the Olympic Games have developed as a dialectical clash between the ideals of their many

⁵¹ The Coubertins, married in 1895, had two children. The first born, a son, became retarded after being left in the sun too long when he was a little child. The second, a daughter, suffered emotional disturbances, never married, and never found peace in her life. Two nephews were also killed in World War I. Schwabe, 356.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Sigmund Loland, 36-8.

supporters and the practices of their many participants.”⁵⁴ It would be the political decisions by the participating nations that would cause athletes to become soldiers and the Games to be cancelled during both World Wars.

B. THE CANCELLED GAMES

During the first twenty years of the modern Olympic movement, the Games had enjoyed ever growing popularity and success with more athletes and spectators participating in this summer celebration. However, this was all to end with the outbreak of World War I. The Greek idea of *ekecheiria*, or sacred truce, in which wars would be halted in order for soldiers to participate in the Games, would not hold true for the modern Games.

The Germans, as mentioned previously, were one of the thirteen nations that participated in the first modern Games in Athens. Possibly more importantly, they excavated the ancient site of Olympia that would provide the impetus for Baron Pierre de Coubertin to revive the Olympic Games. It is not surprising then that they desired to host the world and submitted a bid in 1901. However, their primary sporting focus was on individual gymnastics vice competitive sports – a tradition that would dramatically shift after its poor athletic showing in Olympic competitions.⁵⁵ Additionally, they lacked adequate facilities that would be needed to stage the Games. By 1909, they had constructed the necessary facilities and again submitted a bid to host the Games. With official word arriving in 1911, the IOC had selected Berlin as the host for the 1916

⁵⁴ Senn, xx.

⁵⁵ This shift would occur with the encouragement of the Games by Kaiser Wilhelm. This new attention, like that of Adolf Hitler twenty years later, conformed with German political policy and was looked upon by both leaders as an excellent instrument by which to carry out the German plan to impress the world with the achievements and accomplishments of the fatherland.

Olympics.⁵⁶ The next three years would be spent erecting additional facilities and stadiums, but they would not be used for Olympic competition for twenty years.

On June 28, 1914, a Serbian assassin killed Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, in Sarajevo. A month later, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Days later, Germany sided with Austria-Hungary and declared war on Russia and France. By August 1914, the European continent became engulfed in a war that touched all aspects of life, including the Olympic Games.

Coubertin, still the IOC president, believed that the German's strong desire to host the Games would reduce their belligerent conduct, complete their plans to host the Games, and preserve "the dream of Olympia."⁵⁷ The Germans, anticipating a short war, supported Coubertin's belief by continuing their ambitious plans to host the Games as scheduled. Not surprisingly, there were IOC members who opposed Berlin retaining the Games and other cities, primarily in the U.S., had offered to host the Games. Despite the German's intention, announced in March 1915, to invite only nations allied with Germany and neutral countries, Coubertin would not consider moving the Games.⁵⁸ However, when the Games were scheduled to open in August 1916, Berlin stadium would be vacant and the Olympic flag would not be seen in Germany. The athletic world would have to wait for the conclusion of the "Great War" to determine whether the 1920 Games would be contested or be destined to suffer the same fate as Berlin.

In 1914, before the war started, Budapest and Antwerp had been the leading contestants to host the 1920 Games. Shortly after the armistice was signed in November 1918, Coubertin approached the Belgian government to host either the 1920 or 1924 Games. The Belgians, while skeptical that they could construct the necessary facilities in

⁵⁶ William Durick, "Berlin 1916," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 49.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁵⁸ As previously mentioned, Coubertin would feel compelled, however, to move the IOC headquarters from Paris to its current home of Lausanne, Switzerland, so it could enjoy a more neutral setting.

time, agreed to host the 1920 Games. The Allied Powers also welcomed the thought of meeting in Belgium as a reaffirmation of Germany's guilt for having started the Great War by invading Belgium.⁵⁹ Unquestionably, the selection of Antwerp was primarily political: "The decision [to hold the games in Antwerp] [sic] was, of course, intended as a tribute of honour to the gallant Belgians, who had been the victims of unprovoked aggression five years before; it was universally popular throughout the world."⁶⁰ With only sixteen months of preparation time, the Olympic Games resumed in August 1920 in which "soldier-athletes of the victorious Allied nations wore their army uniforms during the opening ceremony."⁶¹ Also, there were some notable past and future "Olympic powers" that would not compete in Antwerp.

Faced with the difficult decision of whether or not to invite the defeated countries, the IOC, in a move to steer clear of political decisions, shifted the decision of sending invitations from the IOC to the Antwerp Organizing Committee. As a result, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey did not receive invitations.⁶² While receiving an invitation, the Russians, in the midst of the communist revolution, also did not participate. On the other hand, the victorious Allied nations and those that remained neutral received invitations and traveled to Antwerp.

⁵⁹ Senn, 36.

⁶⁰ As quoted in *Ibid.*, 37. The statement was made in a 1978 publication that was coedited by Lord Killanin, IOC president 1972-1980.

⁶¹ Roland Renson, "Antwerp 1920," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Greenwood Press, Westport, 1996), 57. Upon reviewing the official report and photographs of the teams entering the stadium during the opening ceremonies, Renson's comment is essentially correct. However, the photographs of the French and Norwegian teams did not show any athletes wearing uniforms. While it is possible, it is highly unlikely that none of their participants fought during the war. I was unable to ascertain the composition of their teams or the reason for not wearing their uniforms. Pictures of the opening ceremonies can be found in *Olympic Games Handbook: Containing Official Records of the Seventh Olympiad* (New York: American Sports Publishing Co., 1921). Also see Roland Renson, *Les jeux ressuscités: LA VIIième Olympiade anvers 1920* (Belgium: Comité Olympique et Interfédéral Belge, 1995).

⁶² All, except Germany, would participate in the 1924 Games. Germany would return in 1928.

Despite smaller than expected spectator turnout, the Games were heralded as highly successful with several new symbols and rituals being introduced.⁶³ The event that drew the largest crowd, estimated at 40,000, was the gold medal soccer match between Belgium and Czechoslovakia. The hosts were declared the winners after the Czechs, citing prejudiced officiating by the British referee, were disqualified for leaving the field prior to the end of the match. "The spontaneous outburst of public joy that overtook the stadium acted as a catharsis for a battered population that regained some of its pride through football."⁶⁴

The next sixteen years would see the growth and expansion of the Olympic movement with the birth, in 1924, of the Winter Olympics and the 1925 election of a new IOC president, Henri de Baillet-Latour. As will be discussed in the next section, this period would also witness the use of the Olympics to further state ideological programs in 1936. Two weeks after the conclusion of the Berlin Games, the IOC, in a controversial decision due to Japan's attack on Manchuria in 1931, voted in favor of Tokyo, by a margin of 36-27, hosting the 1940 Summer Games and Sapporo hosting the Winter Games.⁶⁵ These Games were to coincide with the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of the empire of Japan.

With threats of boycotts from numerous "Olympic powers" and demands of repealing the hosting award from others, the IOC was probably fortunate that Japan's war with China forced the Japanese government, in 1938, to withdraw its financial support of the Games and relinquish its title as host country. After talks failed with Oslo, Norway and St. Moritz, Switzerland, the location of the Winter Games was rescheduled for

⁶³ These include the five-ring Olympic flag, the delivering of oaths by an athlete and official during the opening ceremonies, and the Olympic motto, *Citius, altius, fortius*.

⁶⁴ Renson, 59.

⁶⁵ Jerry A. Pattengale, "Tokyo/Helsinki 1940," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 98.

Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, the hosts four years earlier.⁶⁶ The IOC would overlook the ongoing Jewish pogroms as well as Germany's occupation of Czechoslovakia and defend their choice on the grounds that the Garmisch facilities were already in place.⁶⁷ Eighteen nations, including the U.S., Great Britain, Belgium, and France, accepted invitations to these Games. However, the 1940 Games would be cancelled due to the German invasion of Poland, only twelve weeks after accepting their hosting assignment, and the ensuing Second World War.

The Summer Games were transferred from Tokyo to Helsinki, Finland. The Finns tried to ignore the explosion of conflict in Eastern Europe, but would soon be attacked by the Soviet army in the winter of 1939. Using this aggressive act as a means to garner international attention, the Finns were still making preparations as late as March 1940. Less than a month later, they would admit that they would not be able to host the world and the Summer Games would be cancelled for a second time.

Finland would ultimately not welcome the world in the summer of 1940. They acknowledged that while some ideologies are wrong, they believed the Olympic movement was not only one of the world's greatest institutions but also one of its greatest political hopes:

We [Finland] [sic] thought that even in time of war it was important to keep alive the Olympic idea, an idea that would unite all the nations of the world in a spirit of peace and brotherhood. We felt that it was our duty to arrange the Games at the very time when their significance, as a symbol of goodwill among the nations, was greater than ever. Shortly after having been entrusted with the Games we defined their aim: to be a feast which would awaken, in all individuals and nations, a desire for mutual understanding and hold before the eyes of the world, infected with discord and suspicion, the ideal of peace.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ The Games had originally been rescheduled for St. Moritz, but were taken away by the IOC, only eight months before the Games were to begin, after the organizing committee refused to stage ski jumping events.

⁶⁷ Pattengale, 96.

⁶⁸ As quoted in *Ibid.*, 99.

In defiance of the ongoing World War, the fiftieth anniversary of the revival of the modern Olympic Games was celebrated in the IOC headquarters in Lausanne, in 1944.⁶⁹ However, there would be no Olympic athletic competition to accompany the celebration. When the war finally ground to its end in the summer of 1945, the IOC executive board, only one week after V-J Day, decided to revive the Games as quickly as possible and selected London as host of the 1948 Games.⁷⁰ At this point, only three men composed the executive board, Swedish Sigfrid Edström (who would be elected president due to the death of Baillet-Latour), American Avery Brundage, and British Lord Aberdare. They made the decision for London to host the Summer Games and St. Moritz for the Winter Games. They then began contacting the other surviving members of the IOC in order to gain ratification of their decision, which was approved in September 1946.

Despite the ravages of war, preparations went surprisingly well. Like Antwerp in 1920, this was again an Olympics of the western victors and the aggressor countries of Germany and Japan would not be invited. The IOC officially explained that neither possessed a legitimate government to which an invitation could be sent.⁷¹ Italy, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania, all of which had allied with the Nazis, did send teams, although their presence was not well received by all parties. Additionally, an Arab boycott was narrowly averted when the IOC declared Israel ineligible despite United Nation recognition of the new state.⁷²

⁶⁹ Martin J. Manning, "London 1944," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 102.

⁷⁰ Senn, 77.

⁷¹ Donald C. Simmons, Jr., "St. Moritz 1948," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 249.

⁷² Senn, 79. The IOC claimed Israel had been given Olympic recognition under the name Palestine and since the Palestine committee no longer existed, coupled with the failure of Israel to apply for recognition, the Israelis could not attend.

Although the leaders of the IOC had successfully brought their organization through the disruptions of war, more storm clouds were on the horizon. The question of Germany's reentry would certainly be a controversial subject. The rapid emergence of new countries and NOC's, through decolonization in primarily the Middle East and Africa, as well as the rise of ideology-based transnational organizations would pose numerous problems for the Olympic movement. Also, the uncertain attitude of the Soviet Union towards the Olympics (they had not participated for more than four decades) and the emergence of the Cold War would significantly challenge the belief that sport "offered a means of resolving political, ideological, and ethnic conflicts."⁷³ Before these topics are examined, it is necessary and worthwhile to discuss the first and arguably most blatant use of the Olympics in an attempt to further a state ideology.

C. THE NAZI GAMES

Like the treaties of Locarno and Rappallo, which formalized the acceptance of the Weimar Republic within European political culture, the selection of Berlin to host the Olympic Games in 1936 ratified the reintegration of Germany within international sports. When the IOC announced its decision on May 13, 1931, Heinrich Brüning was Chancellor of Germany and a centrist coalition ruled. However, when the Games were actually held, the National Socialists were in power and Adolf Hitler was Chancellor. This was not what the IOC had expected and would certainly challenge Coubertin's Olympic vision and the separation of the Games and politics.

The linkage between Germany and the Olympics dates to when Coubertin first started thinking of reviving the Games. It was a German archeologist who unearthed the remains of Olympia, the site of the ancient Games. They were also represented at the first modern Games in Athens. Berlin had been selected to host the 1916 Games, but the outbreak of World War I prevented the Games from taking place. By granting the Games

⁷³ Senn, 67.

to Germany in 1936, "the IOC members quietly hoped that this would heal the lingering wounds of the Great War and the succeeding years."⁷⁴

Since Hitler and the Nazis were not enthusiastic about sports, especially international competition, and decided to leave the League of Nations, there was concern about the new regime and its attitude vis-à-vis the Olympic Games.⁷⁵ However, Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda, convinced Hitler that the Games could turn the world's attention away from the political conflicts and offset foreign criticism of its domestic policies.⁷⁶ Less than a month prior to the start of the Berlin Games, Walther Funk, State Undersecretary in the Propaganda Ministry would further this cause: "There has never before been developed a propaganda campaign equal to that of the Olympic Games. ... The foreigner who comes to us shall see the German people united under its leader, Hitler. Tourism is an important weapon in the struggle for the reestablishment of Germany's world rank."⁷⁷ Additionally, the Games would turn out to be a splendid opportunity to demonstrate German organizational talent and physical prowess.

Among the most worried with the installation of the National Socialist party were, quite naturally, the president and the secretary of the organizing committee, Theodore Lewald and Carl Diem. While both were heading the committee prior to Hitler's rise to power, Lewald's father had converted from Judaism to Christianity and Diem's wife was of partial Jewish ancestry. Despite their removal as leaders of national sports agencies due to their familial linkages to Judaism, IOC president Baillet-Latour "personally intervened

⁷⁴ Ibid., 50.

⁷⁵ Allan Guttman, "The Nazi Olympics," in *The Olympic Games in Transition*, ed. Jeffrey O. Segrave and Donald Chu (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1988), 201.

⁷⁶ Senn, 52.

⁷⁷ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *The Nazi Olympics: Berlin 1936*, (Washington DC: GPO, 1998), exhibition card 6.

with Hitler" in order for Lewald and Diem to continue to serve in their positions on the organizing committee.⁷⁸

With Hitler's new-found willingness to act as host, one set of anxieties were allayed, but another arose: would the Nazis abandon their principles of racial and religious discrimination in order to stage the Games in accordance with Olympic rules. The crux of the matter was not the acceptance of Jewish athletes on foreign teams but rather the right of German Jews to try out for their national team. While written promises to the IOC stated that all Olympic rules would be observed and Jews would be permitted to qualify for the national team, the Jews were expelled from the private sports clubs, which were the center of German athletics. The IOC was satisfied with the assurances of the German committee that non-Aryans would be afforded the same opportunities as Aryans. Critics abroad, however, particularly in the United States, voiced their opposition with some demanding a boycott if Berlin were permitted to remain as hosts.

Other short-lived boycott efforts surfaced in Great Britain, France, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and the Netherlands. In the spring of 1936, the idea of holding alternative games arose. Both the communists and socialists responded enthusiastically, choosing Barcelona as the ideal site: a Popular Front government had come to power in Spain in February 1936, Spain had no diplomatic relations with Germany, and Barcelona had been a contender to host the 1936 Games.⁷⁹ On July 17, Francisco Franco began his counterrevolution and would ultimately force the cancellation of the alternative games.

The boycott debate within the United States would become a fierce battle between the two governing bodies of athletes, the American Olympic Association (AOA) and the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU).⁸⁰ Avery Brundage, president of the AOA, decided to

⁷⁸ Guttman, 203.

⁷⁹ Senn, 58-9.

⁸⁰ It wouldn't be until 1978 with the passing of the Amateur Sports Act that the United States Olympic Committee would be officially formed and exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the participation of the United States in the Olympic Games.

visit Berlin in September 1935 so that he could get a first-hand account of the German assurances. While it may be argued that he had made his decision prior to his departure, "all of the real sport leaders in the United States are unanimously in favor of participation in the Olympics," his report supported the IOC's position.⁸¹ Jeremiah T. Mahoney, president of the AAU, declared that "[t]his whole thing is not a question of politics, it is a question of humanity."⁸² On December 6, the AAU formally accepted the invitation to participate in the winter and summer Games and Brundage would later declare it a "great victory for Olympic principles."⁸³

With the arrival of the Olympic flame, forty-nine nations met for athletic competition.⁸⁴ With more nations and athletes participating than in any previous celebration, the Games ran smoothly and without any noteworthy problems. The athletic events and the awarding of the medals were interwoven with many cultural and social events. Athletes praised the organization, the hospitality, the facilities, and the sports venues. Many have argued that the domination of the African Americans in the track and field events disproved the Nazi tenet of "Aryan superiority." Jesse Owens was heralded as the hero of the Games and was tremendously popular with the German citizenry. However, it was the German athletes who captured the most medals overall. In the end, only a few newspaper accounts would regard the Berlin glitter as merely hiding a racist, militaristic regime, most reported that the Games put Germans "back in the fold of nations," and even made them "more human again."⁸⁵

The question that remains is whether or not the Nazis honored their promises of allowing German Jews to participate on the German national team. The answer is, not

⁸¹ Guttman, 208.

⁸² Senn, 54.

⁸³ As quoted in Guttman, 210.

⁸⁴ The first time it was lit in Olympia and carried in a relay run.

⁸⁵ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, exhibition card 8.

surprisingly, debatable. It is certainly true that the Nazi's invited two "half-Jews," athletes of mixed religious background, to participate: Helene Mayer (fencing) and Rudi Ball (ice hockey). "Because Nazi law did not yet define *Mischlinge* [half-Jews] as Jews, Mayer and Ball were, technically, *not* examples of good faith."⁸⁶ Evidence also demonstrates that Jewish athletes of Olympic caliber were barred from the Games. High-jumper Gretel Bergmann had out performed her closest "Aryan" rival by 4 centimeters (1.56 inches) but was kept from the Olympic team on the pretext that she was not a member of an officially recognized sports club.⁸⁷ Other Jews certainly may have won places on the national team had they not been intimidated or lacked equal facilities to train and hence failed to achieve their potential. While probably the tendency, at the time, to favor athletes from one's own university rather than anti-semitism, it is ironic that the American track coaches would remove Marty Glickman and Sam Stoller, the only Jews on the American track team, from the 400-meter relay.⁸⁸

After the Games had concluded, the Nazis continued to use the Olympics as a propaganda tool by nominating Coubertin for the Nobel Peace Prize and announcing that profits from the Games would be used to continue archeological excavations at Olympia. Obviously the IOC was overjoyed and Brundage would hail the Games as "the greatest and most glorious athletic festival ever conducted – the most spectacular and colossal of all time . . . [and] far more than a mere athletic spectacle."⁸⁹ For many, the most enduring, and surviving, record of these Games is Leni Riefenstahl's film, *Olympia*. Not only does this film record the triumph of propaganda as well as a testimony of National Socialist culture, the glorification of the human athletic physique is also evident.

⁸⁶ Guttman, 213. Emphasis in the original.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 215-6.

⁸⁹ As quoted in Senn, 62.

The Games of 1936 were one of the greatest domestic and foreign policy successes of the Nazi regime. The triumphs of the German team and the praise the Games received abroad had a stabilizing effect on the system.⁹⁰ Only, two weeks after the conclusion of the Games, Hitler approved the "four year plan" that clearly indicated his determination to make political and military preparations for war. In the following years, the Nazis, as part of their plans after attaining a position of supremacy, had decided they would become the permanent hosts of all future Olympic Games: "In 1940 the Olympic Games will take place in Tokyo. But thereafter they will take place in Germany for all time to come."⁹¹ They had deceived the world.

D. CONCLUSION

With their opening in April 1896, the Olympic Games returned as the premier athletic event. While Pierre de Coubertin is rightly credited with their rebirth, his dream of an international sporting event to bolster international understanding, cultivate the individual, and to worship human possibility would not have been possible without the interest and pursuit of individuals and governments in Europe and North America. Much to his chagrin, the majority of the Games would be fraught with political intrusions including the Greek's desire from the onset (and still voiced today) to be the permanent host of the Games, the failure of the British to fly the American flag in the stadium, and the threatened boycotts over Israeli participation. The Games nearly died in their infancy when they subjected to a subservient role to various World Fairs and their forced cancellation as war ravaged the globe. Unquestionably, the most blatant misuse of the Games during this period was undertaken by the Nazi regime in 1936.

⁹⁰ Dietmar Herz and Angelika Altmann, "Berlin 1936," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood, 1996), 92.

⁹¹ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, exhibition quote. From Albert Speer's *Memoirs*.

However, the IOC was able to successfully bring the Games through the political intrusions, the disruptions of war, and the linkage to a state ideology. In the decades to follow and despite calls by the IOC that sport competition must be free of political considerations, the Games would be used by other nations, organizations, and individuals to espouse their ideologies or demands and be relegated to merely a pawn in the political arena of the Cold War. Despite the increased political intrusions into the Games, and possibly as a result of them, the Games would become ever more popular with more athletes and nations competing in subsequent Games and more global media coverage. Throughout, the IOC struggled to remain true to its roots while adapting to the changing environment. It is this further political intrusion and ideological struggle that will be the focus of subsequent chapters in this study.

III. THE FORMATIVE YEARS

The first fifty-six years of the modern Olympic movement can be viewed as a roller coaster ride: some high points (1896, 1912, 1920, 1948) that would precede the thundering descent toward the ground (1904, 1908, 1916, 1940, 1944) and an occasional loop that causes the whole thing to go upside-down (1936). Using this analogy, the Games celebrated from 1952-1988 must certainly be viewed with very few highs and a very long track leading downward with several loops along the way.

After discussing the impact of the entrance of the Soviet Union on the Olympic movement, this chapter will focus on several specific political issues that challenged Coubertin's ideology and threatened the very existence of the Olympic Games. First and directly a result of the development of the bipolar political world after the Second World War, the question of how to resolve the emergence of two Germanys will be discussed. Second, and in a similar context, an examination focusing of the issue of two Chinas and their rise and fall within the world and Olympic organizations will be presented. Next, this chapter will discuss the state-legislated racial discrimination that occurred in South Africa and the resulting decisions of the IOC. Fourth, the terrorist attacks in Munich and the IOC decision that the "Games must go on" will be examined. An examination of the use of the Games as mere pawns by each superpower in trying to win the Cold War will conclude this chapter.

A. THE ENTRANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION

With the end of World War II, a new political structure was born. The Soviet Union and the U.S. replaced the traditional European powers as global leaders. This change would have a dramatic effect on the IOC as it would be forced to change from a West European and American dominated organization to one, which resembled the

changing global political structure. Through World War II, the IOC had granted entry to new members under the terms and timing of the IOC. Now, like other international organizations, the IOC had to adjust their practices to accommodate the new balance of power in the world.

Prior to World War I, the Russians had participated in only two Games, in 1908 and 1912. During the inter-war years, the Russian state had stood apart from the Olympic family, criticizing the Games as a “plaything of international capitalism and expressing scorn for the 19th-century British ideal of the gentlemen ‘amateur’.”⁹² In turn, the IOC displayed little interest in adding the Russians to their organization, believing the Russians would not add to the character or popularity of the Games.⁹³ The Russian athletic competition was confined primarily within their own borders and culminated in the development of the “Red Sport International,” a competition designed to rival the Olympic Games that achieved little international success. This relationship changed after World War II.

The primary concern surrounding the entrance of the Soviet Union was whether the Soviets would conform to Olympic regulations. With only limited knowledge of their sport movement, the IOC was concerned that the Soviets would manipulate the Olympic movement for its own purposes.⁹⁴ One facet that was known was the Communist Party’s control over all decisions in international affairs, including sport: “For party ideologists, mass sport served the purpose of producing better soldiers and workers for the state, while elite sport heralded the triumphs of the system.”⁹⁵ Additionally, Soviet athletes received monetary rewards based on national and world record performance.

⁹² Senn, 84.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Espy, 26.

⁹⁵ Senn, 85.

Unquestionably, state-control of the sporting organizations and the existence of paid athletes were in direct contradiction to the *Olympic Charter*.

As the Soviets attempted to gain entry into various international sport federations, they made certain demands as the condition for their entry. It is here that the IOC concerns of Soviet manipulation of sport are founded. The most common demands were that Russian be an official language of the federation, Soviet officials be immediately placed on the executive board, and the federations revoke affiliation with representatives of Franco-Spain.⁹⁶ The majority of the federations formally admitted the Soviets, yielding only to the demand of the selection of a Russian official. The Soviets accepted the conditions and started competing internationally.⁹⁷

As discussed previously, immediately following World War II, Avery Brundage and others were rebuilding the IOC and striving to celebrate the Games in 1948. The question of Soviet participation was easily solved. Since the Soviets had not formed a NOC nor applied for membership to the IOC, the London organizing committee did not invite them. The Soviets claimed that due to the rigors of war and the lack of enough time to prepare athletes for Olympic competition, they would not send athletes to the Games, but they would send observers.⁹⁸

The Soviets would expand their participation in international sports after 1948. In April 1951, they announced the formation of a NOC and formally requested admission into the Olympic family. At the Olympic Session the following month, the IOC debated the entrance of the Soviets. While many continued to question the amateur status of Soviet athletes and their adherence to IOC regulations, the final vote was thirty-one in

⁹⁶ Espy, 27.

⁹⁷ Event organizers would be continually frustrated with the inconsistency in Russian participation. The Russians showed up unannounced to the European Track and Field championships in 1946 (before they were members of the federation) and failed to appear for a gymnastics competition in 1947 at which they were expected. Senn, 85-7.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 90 and Espy, 28.

favor with three abstentions.⁹⁹ The Soviets viewed their entry into the IOC as a "recognition of their state's importance and its positive role in international affairs, and they spoke of the IOC's having yielded to the pressure of world opinion."¹⁰⁰ The Soviet Union would make its inaugural appearance in Olympic competition in the Summer Games in 1952 and the Winter Games in 1956.

The impact of the Soviet entrance was immediate. As will be discussed in greater depth in the next section, the Soviets, within a year of their entry and throughout the debate, called for the recognition of an independent East German NOC. The Soviets would also be vocal in the issues over China and Taiwan, South Africa, and the necessity to continue the Games after the Munich Massacre.¹⁰¹ There were calls for their exclusion in the 1956 Summer Games after their invasion of Hungary as well as the continuing questions of the status of the Soviet athletes as amateurs or professionals. As time passed, Brundage would welcome the Soviets as "enthusiastic advocates of the virtues of the Olympic Games, however they interpreted them."¹⁰² He would further applaud the Soviet Union in 1962: "No country applies more intensively the theory of Baron de Coubertin that a national program of physical training and competitive sport will build stronger and healthier boys and girls and make better citizens."¹⁰³

Despite Brundage's comments, it is undeniable that the entrance of the Soviets also forced the IOC into the Cold War arena in which the superpowers competed directly. The confrontations within the IOC over recognition of China and Taiwan were clearly along superpower lines. Similarly, the boycotts in 1980 and 1984 can only be explained in terms of Cold War politics. Superpower rivalry gave international athletic competition a

⁹⁹ Senn, 92 and Espy, 35.

¹⁰⁰ Senn, 92-3.

¹⁰¹ All of these topics will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁰² Senn, 94.

¹⁰³ As quoted in *Ibid.*, 95.

sharp new edge, and, in turn, decisions of the IOC had an important place in the superpowers' struggles for position and prestige.

B. THE GERMAN QUESTION

Even before the Soviets entered the Olympic movement, the IOC had to confront a Cold War issue: the emergence of two Germanys. As previously noted, Germany was an active participant since the initial Games were celebrated in Athens and were responsible for the archeological expedition that unearthed the home of the ancient Games. They had also hosted the Games and the world on several occasions and, as an aggressor nation during both World Wars, were not invited to participate in the subsequent Games. Their return and continued inclusion within the Olympic movement provides just one example of the attempts by the IOC to maintain its ideals while finding solutions to the political problems created by the Cold War.

With the end of World War II, many European NOCs opposed German participation in the 1948 London Games. The organizers decided to not invite the Germans and the IOC justified the decision by stating that Germany was unable to compete since there wasn't a recognized NOC in Germany.¹⁰⁴ The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany) would organize a NOC a year later and be granted "provisional recognition" until the executive commission could determine if full recognition was justified.¹⁰⁵ The IOC would be subjected to considerable pressure from political sources in Europe (i.e. the Allied High Command and the U.S. Embassy in Switzerland) to grant full recognition so that the West Germans could participate in

¹⁰⁴ Senn, 98.

¹⁰⁵ Espy, 32.

1952.¹⁰⁶ Full recognition was granted in 1951 and the West Germans participated in Helsinki.

The German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany) would not have such an easy accession into the Olympic fold. The issue centered on the IOC *Charter*, which only allowed one committee to be recognized from a single country. Since United Nations membership had not been conferred on either, the IOC proceeded with the thought of the eventual German reunification. When West Germany was granted provisional recognition, it was for all of Germany. With the full recognition of West Germany and Soviet entry into the IOC in 1951 came demands for recognition of the East Germany NOC. An agreement was drawn that would allow East and West German athletes to compete as a unified team in Helsinki. Avery Brundage, IOC President, would remark: "In bringing about the sublimation of political protocol and rolling back the Iron Curtain, the International Olympic Committee has accomplished more with the Russians in pledging [a united Germany] to the Olympic idea than the United Nations has been able to achieve in the realm of international relations."¹⁰⁷ Brundage's proclamation would fail when the East German government denounced the agreement resulting in the East Germans not competing in Helsinki.

In 1955, the year in which the Soviet Union released East Germany from its status as the Soviet Zone of Germany and recognized it as a sovereign state, the East German NOC was provisionally recognized, but only on the condition that it cooperated in forming a single German NOC.¹⁰⁸ The East Germans agreed, and athletes from both countries would share flag, emblem, uniform, and lodgings for the Games of 1956. The victors were saluted to strains of Beethoven's music rather than either national anthem.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. The West Germans would not be invited to compete in the Winter Games in Oslo since strong feelings still lingered in Norway from the years of German occupation during the war.

¹⁰⁷ As quoted in Senn, 99.

¹⁰⁸ Hill, 40.

Brundage would again extol, "We have obtained in the field of sport what politicians have failed to achieve so far."¹⁰⁹

Despite calls from the East German and Communist bloc delegations for recognition of a separate East German NOC, Brundage's statement would hold true for the Games of 1960 and 1964. In the years leading to the 1960 Winter Games in Squaw Valley, the IOC continually warned the U.S. that they would have to accept all duly accredited competitors from the communist states or face the possibility of the Games being taken away.¹¹⁰ Just prior to the Games, the U.S. State Department refused to admit ten East German officials and five journalists "claiming the delegation included spies and propagandists."¹¹¹ The IOC accepted the ban on the officials since their total numbers exceeded a prearranged quota, but protested the ban on the journalists.

With the erection of the Berlin Wall, both East and West German NOCs were calling for the recognition of separate committees. Nevertheless, a united German team did compete in the 1964 Games. After the 1964 Games, the IOC was further pressured by the Soviet Union and others to grant full recognition and separate participation and end what was only "fiction for the outside world."¹¹² The IOC finally conceded and two teams competed during the 1968 Games as Germany and East Germany. At Grenoble, France and Mexico City separate teams marched under the same banner, with the same anthems and emblems.

While the separation would end the IOC's position of being the only organization capable of uniting Germany, a greater concern was the possibility of an independent East German team not being allowed to participate in the 1968 Winter Games in Grenoble. This concern stemmed from a decision by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

¹⁰⁹ As quoted in Espy, 43, Hill, 41, and Senn, 105.

¹¹⁰ Senn, 119.

¹¹¹ Tim Ashwell, "Squaw Valley 1960," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 266.

¹¹² Espy, 79.

countries to deny visas to East German athletes. When the Games were awarded to France in 1963, the French government had assured IOC officials that all recognized committees would be allowed entrance "under existing conditions."¹¹³ Prior to the start of the Games, the IOC had interpreted this as meaning in accordance with IOC rules, but the French specified that it meant "a unified German team."¹¹⁴ After threats by the IOC to withdraw the Games, the French government relented and allowed entry to a separate East German team using Olympic identity cards vice visas. The German question would be laid to rest in Mexico City in 1968 with East Germany competing under its own banner and its victors hearing their national anthem.

While continually professing the belief in the usefulness of the Olympic Games as an educational tool for realizing the hopes of international peace, Avery Brundage and the IOC was able, if only formally, to run counter to international political precedence and maintain a unified Germany for nearly fifteen years. Unquestionably, the IOC yielded to Western pressure to quickly recognize the West German NOC after World War II. However, it was then able to withstand the pressure of both superpowers and their affiliated political/military organizations well beyond the realization of unattainable German reunification. The IOC surely must have felt vindicated with the reunification of Germany in 1989.

C. THE TWO CHINAS

As the IOC was struggling to resolve the participation of a divided Germany, it was forced to look eastward toward China. This section will focus on two areas. First, the struggle for recognition between mainland China and Taiwan will be examined. In contrast to the German situation, there could be no discussion of combining the two. This

¹¹³ Ibid., 108.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

compelled the IOC to determine its own definition of "China" and whether to recognize either or both. The second issue centers on China's, and specifically Beijing's, attempts to host the 2000 Summer Games, awarded to Sydney, Australia by a final vote of 45-43.

The first Chinese IOC member was elected in 1922 and thus the Chinese NOC was also officially recognized. China's athletes competed during the inter-war Games as well as those when the Games were celebrated immediately following World War II. When General Chaing Kai-Shek signed the United Nations' Charter, Taiwan was considered a province of China, which is the status still officially accorded to it by Beijing, and there was no question of its having any independent existence as a state. After the war between the nationalist and the communists ended in 1949, the U.S. and its allies, as well as the United Nations, recognized Taiwan as the "Real China," while the Soviet Union and its satellites recognized the mainland, which adopted the name "People's Republic of China" (PRC).

This placed the IOC in an awkward position prior to the Helsinki Games in 1952 since its charter allowed for only one NOC per country. By a vote of 29-22, the IOC decided that "exceptional circumstances" existed and allowed the PRC to participate without an NOC.¹¹⁵ Despite their victory, the delegation from the PRC arrived in Helsinki too late to enter any competitions.¹¹⁶ Once it had learned of the resolution by the IOC, Taiwan protested and withdrew its athletes from the Games.

Prior to the Melbourne Games in 1956, the IOC had officially recognized the NOCs of both China and Taiwan by "introducing the idea of recognizing territories under the control of an NOC, rather than insisting that an NOC have a nation behind it."¹¹⁷ However, this was not acceptable to the PRC who withdrew from the Melbourne Games

¹¹⁵ Hill, 45.

¹¹⁶ Senn, 100.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. This issue resurfaced in 1996 when Palestinian athletes were allowed to compete in Atlanta despite the non-existence of an "independent" Palestinian state.

in protest of Taiwan's continued membership. Two years later, the PRC withdrew from the Olympic movement and from all international sport federations.

Not surprising, the communist bloc IOC members wanted Taiwan expelled and the PRC reinstated. In 1959, the IOC agreed that since Taiwan did not administer sport on the mainland it could not compete under the name of the "Chinese Olympic Committee." The IOC withdrew its recognition of the name of the Taiwanese NOC, and stated that if an application for recognition under a different name was made, it would be considered.¹¹⁸ Protests erupted in the U.S. where the IOC actions were interpreted as the expulsion of Taiwan. Avery Brundage, IOC President, would respond that Coubertin had displayed remarkable foresight in having been so "careful to arrange that [the IOC] should always be completely free, independent and autonomous, and to insure its impartiality."¹¹⁹

Within a year, it was proposed that since the United Nations had recognized Taiwan as the Republic of China, its NOC should be known as the Olympic Committee of the Republic of China. The IOC agreed and Taiwan's return to the Olympic movement was complete. However, the IOC mandated they compete under the name Taiwan (Formosa) during the 1960 Games in Rome. The team duly carried the name board "Formosa" during the opening parade, but displayed a placard "under protest."¹²⁰ While Taiwan did not field any athletes in the Winter Games in Squaw Valley, "India, fearful of offending the People's Republic, withdrew" from the Games.¹²¹

By 1971, the tides of the Cold War had shifted with the United Nations' recognition of the PRC and the expulsion of Taiwan, giving Taiwan's seat on the Security Council to the PRC. In keeping in step with global precedence, the IOC decided that the PRC would be welcomed back into the Olympic fold. However, the IOC was determined

¹¹⁸ Hill, 46 and Senn, 117.

¹¹⁹ As quoted in Senn, 118.

¹²⁰ Ibid. The placard had been hung only long enough for it to be photographed and then was removed.

¹²¹ Ashwell, 266.

to not expel Taiwan. Not surprising, the PRC opposed Taiwan's continued membership, but initiated the steps necessary to return to the Olympic fold. In 1975, the PRC had fulfilled the prerequisites and with its growing strength within the United Nations, demanded Taiwan be expelled prior to the PRC's admission into the IOC.¹²² The IOC would not be pressured and made no immediate decision.

The situation was raised to new heights by the Canadian government immediately prior to the Montreal Games in 1976. In 1970, Canada had adopted a one-China policy and recognized the PRC as the sole representative of all Chinese. It would not accede to the Chinese request to refuse entry to the Taiwanese team, but did say that the word "China" must not appear in its name, and that it could not use its flag or anthem. This came as a surprise to the Canadian NOC which "would never have supported Montreal's candidature if they had known that their government would behave as it had."¹²³ After offers and counter-compromises by the IOC, the Canadian government, and the Taiwan NOC were unable to resolve the situation, the IOC made the decision that Taiwan should compete as "Taiwan" and march under the Olympic banner.¹²⁴ The Taiwan team did not accept the IOC's decision and left Montreal the day before the Games began.¹²⁵

After several more years of debate between the three parties, the issue remained unresolved until late 1979. Only months before the 1980 Winter Games were to be held in Lake Placid, the IOC had ruled that the PRC's NOC be recognized as the Chinese Olympic Committee, with the PRC's flag and anthem. This would mark the first time the PRC was allowed to send athletes to the Games since 1952. Taiwan's NOC was to be known as the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee, with a different anthem, flag, and

¹²² Espy, 151. The prerequisites include the establishment of a NOC, the submission of an application, and membership in at least five international sporting federations.

¹²³ Ibid., 49.

¹²⁴ Espy, 153. The final vote would be 58-2 with 6 abstentions.

¹²⁵ It must be noted that the PRC involvement was purely on a political level since it was not an IOC member and its athletes were not invited to compete in Montreal.

emblem from those it had been using. The Taiwanese refused to accept this decision. They arrived in Lake Placid displaying the flag of the Republic of China and were immediately barred from entering the Olympic Village. One Taiwanese athlete sought assistance from the American judicial system contending the Taiwanese “were victims of unfair discrimination since the Olympic committee did not dictate what names other countries used.”¹²⁶ Despite a favorable ruling by a lower court, an appeal decision upheld the IOC’s ruling. Ironically, after nearly thirty years of supporting Taiwan in the Olympic movement, the U.S. government sided against the Taiwanese.¹²⁷ In response, the Taiwanese athletes and officials departed Lake Placid just prior to the opening ceremonies.

The two-China issue did not pose a problem during the Moscow Games since neither participated.¹²⁸ In April 1981 and after thirty-five years, the issue was finally resolved with Taiwan’s acceptance of the name Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee for its NOC and the IOC’s approval of its name, flag, anthem, and emblem. Both Chinese teams have been active members within the Olympic movement since the agreement and have competed in every Game since 1984.

The two-China issue is a prime example of the inability of the Olympic movement and sport in general to avoid involvement in questions of international politics. Despite attempts to appease both sides, occasionally by bending the rules or by declaring “exceptional circumstances” existed, the IOC, much in the same manner as diplomats and political organizations, were unable to mediate an agreement. Attempts by the IOC would be made even more difficult when governments and state legislative and judicial systems entered the fray. This involvement would be seen again when China announced its candidacy for the 2000 Summer Olympics.

¹²⁶ Mary Fiess, “Olympic Bosses Turning Cold Shoulder to Carter’s Moscow Pullout,” *AM Cycle*, February 11, 1980, available LEXIS/NEXIS.

¹²⁷ Senn, 178.

¹²⁸ Taiwan supported the U.S.-led boycott initiative while China was engaged in a conflict with Vietnam.

In 1993, Beijing, China, along with five other cities, submitted its bid to host the 2000 Summer Games. Undeniably, the Chinese government hoped that hosting the Games would significantly improve its image as well as reap the vast financial gains. Hong Kong and, surprisingly, Taiwan joined the campaign in favor of Beijing. On the other side, the U.S. Congress, many European Parliaments, and numerous human rights organizations all vigorously opposed the selection of Beijing. On July 15, 1993, a committee hearing was held in the U.S. Senate to discuss and ultimately support two non-binding resolutions aimed at urging the IOC representative from the U.S., as well as the IOC itself, to oppose Beijing's bid. The Senate cited China's poor "human rights record" and specifically recounted the events of Tiananmen Square during the summer of 1989 as reasons for its opposition.¹²⁹

Since the voting for a host city is conducted by secret ballot, the impact of these resolutions on the votes cast by American or other IOC members will likely be unknown. However, a review of the voting results provides some insight. In *The Clash of Civilizations*, Samuel Huntington argues that the vote was clearly along civilizational lines. "On the first ballot, Beijing, with reportedly widespread African support, was in first place with Sydney in second. On subsequent ballots, when Istanbul was eliminated, the Confucian-Islamic connection brought its votes overwhelmingly to Beijing; when Berlin and Manchester were eliminated, their [Berlin and Manchester] votes went overwhelmingly to Sydney, giving it victory on the fourth ballot."¹³⁰ Huntington argues

¹²⁹ Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, *Prohibition of the Olympic Games in Beijing: Hearing before the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation*, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 15 July 1993, 4.

¹³⁰ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1996, 197. The voting on the four ballots was as follows:

	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Beijing	32	37	40	43
Sydney	30	30	37	45
Manchester	11	13	11	
Berlin	9	9		
Istanbul	7			

that the apparent reason was human rights, but it was actually "to show Western political clout."¹³¹ While it must be noted that the IOC charter requires each member to cast his or her vote for a bid city "free from any political or commercial influences . . . [and] may not accept from governments any mandate liable to bind or interfere with the freedom of their action and vote," the cultural biases of each individual are certainly debatable.¹³²

Beijing recently announced its decision to submit its bid to host the 2008 Games against other hopefuls including Toronto, Istanbul, and Buenos Aires, with others likely to submit bids prior to the February 2000 deadline. The U.S. will not likely actively encourage the Games be celebrated in Beijing, especially in light of the recent investigations surrounding China's theft of nuclear weapon secrets. However, it is also unknown how much opposition will occur given the continued progress in the economic and political arenas. Also, it is difficult to imagine that the IOC would shun nearly one-fifth of the world's population from hosting the world in Olympic competition.

The first three sections have discussed topics that were caused or charged by Cold War politics. The questions of how to accept the Soviet Union into the Olympic fold and recognize separate NOCs in East/West Germany and China/Taiwan without conferring political affirmation on their governments certainly challenged IOC leaders and the principles the Olympic movement was founded on. The next three sections will also examine challenging issues that confronted Olympic leaders, not so much as a result of challenges to Olympic ideology, but to the core of Coubertin's goals of the Olympics: to cultivate the relationship between men in society and the promotion of international understanding and peace.

Abstain			1	1
Total	89	89	89	89

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 27. This point would be made by Anita DeFrantz, an IOC member in the U.S.

D. THE ISOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

After thirty years of exclusion, the South African team was enthusiastically welcomed as it marched into the Olympic Stadium in Barcelona in August 1992. Prior to the 1960 Rome Games, they had participated, and won medals, in every Summer Games since 1908. When South Africa "became the last bastion of officially sanctioned racism" and their white leaders preferred 'to suffer the humiliation of exclusion' from world sport 'rather than accommodate an even symbolic abandonment of their colour privileges and master role', they were banned from the Olympic movement.¹³³

As apartheid developed in the 1950s and 1960s, politics became an instrument for the suppression of black interests in every sphere, including sport. Through a series of legislative acts during the 1950s, the South African society was racially segregated and physically separated with the white minority able to control every facet of life. The government's sports policy consisted of four principles. First, each racial group (officially African, Colored, Asian or Indian, and White) would form a separate controlling association in each sport.¹³⁴ Second, white associations would be the lead association. This would include sending representatives to the world federations, determining sport policy within South Africa, and assisting the development of black associations. Third, racially mixed teams could not represent South Africa. Fourth, sport officials could not invite racially mixed teams from abroad to play in the Republic.¹³⁵

The problem was first introduced to the IOC in 1955 by the International Boxing Federation, but was tabled until the Soviet IOC member reintroduced the problem in 1959.¹³⁶ The Soviet delegate accused the South African NOC (SANOC) of discrimination

¹³³ Douglas Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), 5.

¹³⁴ Black, the preferred term of the majority nonracial/mass democratic movement, denoted those groups collectively referred to by the government as *non-white*. Ibid., xi.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 61.

¹³⁶ Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 69.

against black athletes which was, and still is, contrary to the IOC Charter. The South African delegate, Reginald Honey, responded that any athlete of Olympic caliber would be allowed to represent South Africa in the Games. However, since non-white athletes had only recently taken an interest in Olympic sport, none had achieved Olympic caliber.¹³⁷ This obviously did not answer the discrimination charges against South Africa. The IOC was content with the South African argument and decided to table any further discussion until after the 1960 Games.

Despite the assurances by Reginald Honey, the IOC again raised the issue in 1962 after it noted that the South Africans had made no progress. In its Session in June 1962, the IOC "warned South Africa that it would be suspended in 1963 if the government did not change its policy of racial discrimination in sport by the time of the October 1963 Session."¹³⁸ During the 1963 Session, SANOC "declared that apartheid was purely an internal matter and no business of the IOC."¹³⁹ Not wanting to outright suspend South Africa, the IOC extended their deadline to December 31, 1963. If policy changes had not been enacted, South Africa would be suspended from the Olympic Games. SANOC failed to comply with the IOC mandate and South Africa was not invited to the 1964 Games. However, this decision by the IOC had no bearing on the continued membership of SANOC in the Olympic movement.

In 1963, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) was created. Its objective was to replace SANOC in the Olympic movement and it led the calls for an international boycott of South African sport. SANROC was "bled to death by banning orders, imprisonment, and harassment" by the South African government and

¹³⁷ Ibid., 70-1.

¹³⁸ Hill, 204. The Session was to take place in Nairobi, Kenya, but was moved to Baden-Baden, West Germany when the Kenyan government conformed with a Organization for African Unity (OAU) decision and would not allow the South African delegates to enter Kenya.

¹³⁹ Espy, 86.

eventually forced into exile in 1966.¹⁴⁰ At the IOC Session in 1966, it appeared that SANROC was close to achieving its objective when a recommendation to suspend SANOC until its rules accorded with the IOC's was presented to the general assembly. SANOC countered with a proposal to form a committee composed of an equal number of white and colored officials to select the South African Olympic team. With the support of the IOC President, Avery Brundage, the IOC decided to table the issue until its session the following year.

Prior to the 1967 Session, South Africa introduced a new sports policy which complied with the IOC's principle of national representation by a single team: "each racial group would nominate a representative for a particular event and, under the aegis of SANOC, the racially defined associations would [liaison] and choose the national team."¹⁴¹ While this new policy did not alter internal sport policies and mixed trials would not be permitted, the IOC favorably viewed this concession and again tabled the decision of expelling SANOC for another year. A fact-finding commission sent to South Africa also reported favorable changes which resulted in an "absolute majority" decision by the IOC "to readmit a mixed South African team" to the 1968 Games.¹⁴² Not surprising, South Africa was enthusiastic with the decision, but the celebration would be short-lived.

Two days after the IOC decision, Algeria and Ethiopia withdrew from the Games. By the end of February almost all of Africa had withdrawn and numerous other states were joining the exodus. In the U.S., many of the top black athletes had decided to boycott the Games. The Soviet Union threatened to join the boycott unless an emergency session was held to reconsider the issue.¹⁴³ While Brundage was able to resist the call for a full session discussion, the Executive Board met in April. Prior to this meeting,

¹⁴⁰ Booth, 78.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 91.

¹⁴² Espy, 101.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 102.

Brundage went to South Africa with hopes of convincing SANOC to voluntarily withdrawal from the Games. Not surprising, SANOC refused with Frank Braun, president of SANOC, stating he would "rather be shot in Mexico City than lynched in Johannesburg."¹⁴⁴ The IOC Executive Board only had two options remaining: "either the IOC would have to expel South Africa by removing its recognition of SANOC, or, at the very least, the Mexican NOC would have to take the responsibility for refusing to issue an invitation."¹⁴⁵ Ultimately, SANOC would not receive an invitation to participate in Mexico City.

In 1970, the IOC, by a vote of 35 to 28 (with 3 abstentions), had decided to expel SANOC on seven charges related to discrimination and one charge pertaining to the illegal use of the Olympic symbols to advertise its white South African Games.¹⁴⁶ Since SANOC did not have the support of the South African government and could not fully represent all racial groups within South Africa, the IOC was unable to recognize it as SANOC's replacement. The expulsion would keep South Africa out of the Olympic movement until 1992, but Reginald Honey remained a member of the IOC until his death at the age of ninety-five.¹⁴⁷

South Africa would remain out of the Olympic spotlight until the 1976 Montreal Games. While the China-Taiwan debate would take center stage, a New Zealand rugby tour of South Africa, in direct violation of several United Nations resolutions, would cause nations to boycott these Games. "Forty-eight hours before the opening of the Games fifteen African countries sent [IOC President] Killanin an ultimatum – send New Zealand

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 103.

¹⁴⁵ Hill, 215.

¹⁴⁶ Espy, 128.

¹⁴⁷ Hill, 217. Normally, an IOC member must be a national of a country in which they have their domicile or their main center of interests and in which there is an NOC recognized by the IOC. However, The IOC Charter allows the President to propose and the full IOC to approve no more than ten additional members without distinction of nationality or domicile. Honey was one of these ten additional members.

packing or they would boycott.”¹⁴⁸ The IOC, including the African members (the boycott announcement by the African countries was a government decision in support of an OAU decision) were opposed to the boycott since rugby was not an Olympic sport and South Africa had already been expelled from the Games. In the end, twenty-two teams, including Iraq and Guyana, supported the boycott and departed Montreal (seven other African NOCs did not send teams to Montreal), some after participating in preliminary events.¹⁴⁹

South Africa’s return to world sport went hand in hand with its return to other aspects of normal international life. This process was initiated with the gradual internal changes that followed President F. W. De Klerk’s speech on February 2, 1990, in which he committed the government to a negotiated resolution of apartheid by liberalizing the political process and initiating a new program of end state-mandated racial practices.

While the IOC enthusiastically welcomed the decision, it resolved to maintain its ban until apartheid had been fully abolished. In November 1990, South Africa announced the formation of a committee, including members of SANOC, SANROC, and other disparate sport bodies, to coordinate the integration of sport within South Africa and to establish a single NOC. An IOC mission visited South Africa in March 1991 to review the progress of this committee and led to the conditional recognition to INOCSA (interim NOC of South Africa). After the final legislation officially abolishing apartheid had been passed, the IOC, on July 9, 1991, officially welcomed South Africa back into the Olympic fold. The timing is important because it allowed the 1992 Barcelona Committee to invite South Africa to participate in the Games.

September 1997 would further signal the return of South Africa to the Olympic movement when the IOC voted for a city to host the 2004 Games. Only one year after South Africa’s return, Cape Town (the eventual winner) and two other South African

¹⁴⁸ Espy, 157.

¹⁴⁹ Bruce Kidd, “Montreal 1976,” in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 155.

cities began vying against each other in hopes of representing South Africa in the contest for the 2004 Games. Many observers believed Cape Town would be selected by the IOC due to a possible voting bloc by the African IOC members. No African city had ever hosted the Games (Africa is the "missing black" of the five Olympic rings), and Samaranch had supposedly favored Cape Town. However, Cape Town would finish third in the voting behind Athens and Rome. Thus far, South Africa has not announced its bid for the 2008 Games, but with the increasing global interest in the Olympics, it must be anticipated that it will submit other bids and eventually win the right to host the world.

Throughout his tenure as IOC President, Avery Brundage "held steadfast to the view that the 'Games must go on' – whatever the cost."¹⁵⁰ As previously discussed, he insisted that the U.S. participate in the 1936 Berlin Games despite well-documented Nazi anti-semitism. Also, he rationalized that since most countries practice discrimination, racial discrimination was not a sufficient reason to exclude a nation from the Games.¹⁵¹ At the 1966 IOC Session, he pointed out that SANOC risked sanctions if it violated its government's laws of apartheid. He stated, ". . . we must reexamine the question realistically. If we expel them, we shall never see them again."¹⁵² In 1967, Brundage sent an IOC fact-finding commission to South Africa but instructed them to not investigate apartheid in domestic sport, only to ensure that SANOC complied with Olympic regulations. "We must not become involved in political issues, nor permit the Olympic Games to be used as a tool or as a weapon for extraneous causes."¹⁵³ Even in the face of

¹⁵⁰ Booth, 87.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. Throughout his more than sixty years of involvement in the Olympic movement, he was a staunch believer that sport should be held apart from politics. This belief would remain consistent regardless of the topic: eligibility, commercialism, nationalism, and racism. While certainly not in favor of racial discrimination, he feverishly fought any challenges to the Olympic ideals as visualized by Pierre de Coubertin. Robert K. Barney, "Avery Brundage," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 366-79.

¹⁵² Espy, 95.

¹⁵³ As quoted in Booth, 87.

a mass exodus of nations prior to the 1968 Games, he "went on saying that the Games were for individuals, not nations."¹⁵⁴

When the IOC decided, in July 1991, to allow South Africa to return to the Olympic movement, it violated its own charter. First, South Africa had not fulfilled the criterion that a NOC contain national governing associations affiliated to a minimum of five International Federations responsible for the administration of Olympic sports.¹⁵⁵ Also, "the population register and gross inequalities in state expenditure meant that black sports people continued to suffer overt discrimination."¹⁵⁶ When IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch was reminded of these facts, he replied, "maybe the conditions have not been fully complied with today, at this time, but I'm sure they will be in time for the Barcelona Olympics."¹⁵⁷ Whether Samaranch would be proven correct is irrelevant. In the aftermath of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union, African states increasingly turned to South Africa as the continent's savior and political, economic, and sporting ties were forged between many African states and South Africa by the end of 1991. The IOC was also eager to normalize relations with South Africa and simply chose to ignore its own rules in order to expedite the process.

E. THE MUNICH MASSACRE

Throughout the modern Olympic era, Germany has remained in the center of the debates of politics intruding in the Olympic movement. Throughout this study, Germany has been linked to the archeological expedition to unearth the site of the ancient Games,

¹⁵⁴ Hill, 214.

¹⁵⁵ International Federations govern the sports contested in the Games. They include, but are not limited to the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), International Basketball Federation (FIBA), and International Skiing Federation (FIS).

¹⁵⁶ Booth, 190.

¹⁵⁷ As quoted in Ibid.

the site of arguably the most blatant use of the Games to further a state ideology, forbidden to participate in the Games immediately following both World Wars, and mired in the debated over the recognition of a divided Germany. Unfortunately, the 1972 Summer Games held in Munich, much like in Berlin thirty-six years earlier, will probably be remembered for their use to espouse a political ideology.

Munich was awarded the Games in April 1966. The West German government hailed the Games as an "opportunity to demonstrate the stability of the new government, the restoration of the economy, and German dedication to the ideal of peaceful competition in international athletics."¹⁵⁸ Willi Daume, president of the organizing committee, remarked, "it is hoped that the Munich Games will expunge impressions that have been prejudicial to Germany's good name ever since 1936. They will certainly give the world an introduction to a new and different Germany."¹⁵⁹ To the dismay of Daume and his countrymen, the introduction of the "new Germany" was overshadowed by the re-enactment of the darkest ritual of German history – a public attack of Jews on German soil.

Early on the morning of September 5, eight members of the Black September terrorist organization raided the Olympic Village apartments of the Israeli team, killing two instantly and taking nine others hostage. Throughout the siege, the terrorists demanded the release of 234 Palestinians jailed in Israel as well as two German terrorists. After nearly sixteen hours of unsuccessful negotiations, the German police had convinced the terrorists that all of their demands would not be granted, but that safe passage had been "arranged" for the terrorists and their hostages to the Middle East. Following a helicopter flight to Furstenfeldbruck military airport and as the terrorists and their hostages were making their way to the "waiting" airplane, German police snipers opened fire. In the ensuing gun battle, all of the hostages, five terrorists, and one police officer

¹⁵⁸ Maynard Brichford, "Munich 1972," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 148.

¹⁵⁹ William L. Shirer, "From Jesse Owens to the Summer of '72," *Saturday Review*, March 25, 1972, 40.

were killed.¹⁶⁰ With the return of the slain members of Black September to Libya, their supporters cheered: "All glory to the men of [Black] September. The gold medal you have won in Munich is for the Palestine nation."¹⁶¹

The world was stunned that terrorism could occur at the Olympic Games during a time of supposed peace and friendship. While the physical massacre had come to an end, some argued that other "massacres" had or would occur. During the hostage situation, life in the Olympic Village went on with eerie determination. People still shopped at the stores, athletes trained, and many would come out to dance and party at the discotheques. On the hill outside the Village fence, hawkers sold ice cream and sausages while many visitors were sprawled out sunning themselves. In the central plaza, athletes played Ping-Pong and miniature golf as tanks and troop transports moved into position. Even the Village loudspeaker system continued to blurt out polka music as if to show its determination to not allow a group of terrorists the satisfaction of diminishing the spirit of the Olympics.¹⁶²

Despite Avery Brundage's calls for the Games to continue throughout the ordeal, they were finally halted, with the proviso that events in progress would continue. "Thus, as late as 5:00 p.m. – twelve hours into the ordeal . . . – teams from Russia and Poland were still engaged in a spirited game of volleyball in a building less than 100 yards from the scene of the terror."¹⁶³ The IOC executive committee was faced with the difficult decision of whether to cancel the remainder of the Games or to continue. Amid reports of

¹⁶⁰ For a much more in-depth recount of the events, see Serge Groussard, *The Blood of Israel: The Massacre of the Israeli Athletes, The Olympics, 1972* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1975). The other three terrorists would be released months later when Germany bowed to the demands of another Black September attack in return for the safe release of a hijacked German airplane and its crew and passengers.

¹⁶¹ "Israel's Fierce Reprisals for Munich," *Newsweek*, September 25, 1972, 49.

¹⁶² "Terror at the Olympics," *Newsweek*, September 18, 1972, 30.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

national delegations withdrawing and individual athletes fleeing the Olympic Village, they decided the Games must nevertheless continue.¹⁶⁴

The IOC scheduled a memorial service in the Olympic Stadium for the morning of the 6th, less than twelve hours after the hostages were killed at the airport. Groussard recounts that “not one athlete, not one official from any Arab country was present in the stadium. Nor was there anyone from the USSR or East Germany. Apparently, the Yugoslavs and Poles had not come either.”¹⁶⁵ Brundage, in what would be his last speech as IOC President, mourned the loss of “our Israeli friends” and observed that “the greater and more important the Olympic Games become, the more they are open to commercial, political, and now criminal pressure.”¹⁶⁶ He declared a day of mourning – which was made retroactive to the moment at which the IOC had suspended the Games – and announced that “the Games must go on.”¹⁶⁷ The Games would continue, simply ending a day later than scheduled.

Not surprising, reaction to the deaths of the Israeli athletes prompted responses by U.S. leaders and retaliation by Israel. Secretary of State Rogers stated, “[t]his assault on the Israeli Olympic team is offensive to men and women of good will everywhere for whom the Olympic games are a symbol of man’s striving for reconciliation and peace.”¹⁶⁸ President Nixon phoned his condolences to Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir and informed her that she could expect total cooperation from the U.S. government and, while unable to directly affect situations in other countries, “we would try to do everything we could with regards to groups of Israeli citizens traveling in the United States.”¹⁶⁹ Israel’s

¹⁶⁴ Senn, 152.

¹⁶⁵ Groussard, 440. Espy (p.142) provides a similar recounting. Neither provides an explanation for the absence of the non-Arab countries.

¹⁶⁶ As quoted in Brichford, 150.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 151.

¹⁶⁸ William P. Rogers, *The Department of State Bulletin*, Vol LXVII, No. 1736, October 2, 1972, 364.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 365.

response was in the form of military attacks. Two days after the death of their Olympic participants, Israel launched an attack against Arab guerilla bases deep within Syria and Lebanon. Thirteen months later, the Arabs and Israelis found themselves fighting another war.

As a result of this tragedy, security surrounding and inside Olympic Villages have been likened to armed camps. The Olympic Games had once again become the staging ground, this time in a barbarous fashion, for a particular cause. "The Munich massacre vividly underscored the unique simultaneity of the Olympics as actor and stage, participant and arena."¹⁷⁰ While the organization of and debates between Olympic years have certainly not been free of politics, no longer would the Games themselves be viewed as peaceful celebrations free on external politics. The political intrusion into the Games would only increase in the next decade.

F. THE SUPERPOWER BOYCOTTS

The IOC selected Moscow as the 1980 Olympic site on October 23, 1974 over the bid of its sole competitor, Los Angeles. At the time, many felt the Soviet Union worthy of the honor: not only was it the most successful and versatile nation in Olympic history in sporting performance, but it was considered to have done much in Olympic forums to enhance the preeminent role of sport and the Olympic movement. It was a popular choice with both Eastern Europeans and many Third World countries who's political and sports causes had gained Soviet support. Western governments, despite their distaste for communism and the Soviet human rights record, generally believed the selection might somehow make a contribution to the process of détente or at least encourage some liberalization with the country.¹⁷¹ However, in the end, to paraphrase the famous

¹⁷⁰ Espy, 143.

¹⁷¹ James Riordan, "Moscow 1980," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 161.

statement of Carl von Clausewitz: athletic competition, like war, would represent an extension of politics by other means.

On March 15, 1979, an editorial comment was published in *Sovietski Sport* concerning the People's Republic of China decision to send troops into Vietnam:

The adherence to and development of the sanctified Olympic principles is the most important duty of every country which is or wants to become a member of the Olympic family. . . . China must find its place in the Olympic movement when it has fulfilled the requirements which every country and Olympic organization are expected to meet. . . . Who can be permitted to appear as this festival with blood-soaked hands?¹⁷²

While anti-Moscow sentiments were voiced as soon as Moscow was selected, the "blood-soaked hands" of the Soviet Union quickly received equal condemnations when its troops entered Afghanistan on December 27, 1979.

When reviewing Carter's decision to boycott the Games, two factors must be considered. First, the Soviet Union had to be punished for its actions. While there were certainly other options, the boycott was ruled as the best choice with minimal impact on the U.S. The administration believed that the Games "may be the most important single event in the Soviet Union since World War II" and would cost the U.S. very little, affecting only a few hundred athletes and an insignificant number of businesses and tourists.¹⁷³ The second factor centers on the desire of Carter to show the rest of the world that the U.S. was able to act against Soviet transgressions and that it was a force with which to be reckoned. Ultimately, Carter would support the boycott decision with the argument that an U.S.-led disruption of the Games would not only punish the Soviet Union, it would also help restore respect for U.S. leadership.

¹⁷² As quoted in John Hoberman, *The Olympic Crisis: Sport, Politics, and the Moral Order* (New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1986), 65.

¹⁷³ Derick L. Hulme, Jr., *The Political Olympics: Moscow, Afghanistan and the 1980 US Boycott* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 17-19.

One can only imagine the response of the Soviet Olympic planners as well as political leaders at the possibility of a Western boycott. All of their billions of dollars and elaborate efforts were suddenly jeopardized with the Games becoming a farcical, intra-communist scrimmage without global media coverage or significance. It should be stressed that the Kremlin viewed the Games as an opportunity to achieve a degree of legitimacy in a global sense and no longer feel itself an outcast.¹⁷⁴ To this end, Soviet leaders began a counter-propaganda campaign against the U.S. "politicization" of the Games. They made claims that the boycott was not only anti-Olympic, but it was directed primarily at the American citizenry as part of the upcoming presidential election campaign and to draw attention away from the blundered hostage rescue attempt in Iran. Furthermore, a decision was made by Soviet leaders to secure the participation of as many countries as possible, regardless of the cost. "Latin American and African states were told that they need only ask to receive free room, board, and travel for the Games."¹⁷⁵

By January 20th, President Carter had formulated the U.S. response: "We must make clear to the Soviet Union that it cannot trample upon an independent nation and at the same time do business as usual with the rest of the world."¹⁷⁶ He would go on to defend the use of sport as a political instrument by noting that in the Soviet Union, "international sports competition is itself an aspect of Soviet government policy, as is the decision to invade Afghanistan."¹⁷⁷ On these grounds, he urged the USOC, as well as other NOCs to advise the IOC not to hold the Moscow Games unless the Soviets removed their troops within one month and, failing their withdraw, the Games should either be moved or canceled. If the IOC rejected this proposal, he would "urge the USOC and the Olympic committees of other like-minded nations not to participate in the Moscow

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 76.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 77.

¹⁷⁶ Hoberman, 66.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

games."¹⁷⁸ Secretary of State Vance would further exacerbate the situation by delivering a grossly politically charged statement as he opened the eighty-second plenary session of the IOC just prior to opening of the Lake Placid Games which further solidified the IOC's decision to keep the Games in Moscow.

Two months later, the Carter administration began placing significant pressure on the USOC to comply with its wishes. Secretary Vance and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Jones, told the USOC that the boycott was essential to national security. Discussions were being conducted with senior Congressional members concerning the possibility of amending the Amateur Sports Act of 1978, which authorizes the USOC to field a team at Olympic events. On April 12, the USOC, by a vote of 1604 to 797, decided against participation in the Moscow Games.

Once the USOC had decided to not participate, President Carter, in a move to keep the 1984 Games in Los Angeles, sent a message to Lord Killanin, president of the IOC, stating that "this stand did not detract in any way from the United States' devotion to the Olympic movement."¹⁷⁹ Meanwhile, he was eagerly attempting to persuade Western allies to join the boycott. The western European response was marked by hesitation because many countries (France being a notable exception) hoped to present a united front and their responses were linked to other issues in foreign and domestic politics. Additionally, most were unwilling to be seen as bringing great pressure to bear upon their NOCs. In the case of Great Britain, Italy, and several others, the governments favored the boycott, however their NOCs favored participation. In these cases, the athletes participated either under the Olympic flag or the flags of their national Olympic associations.

In the Third World, the satellite or "client" states of both superpowers followed their leaders: Zaire, Libya, Kenya, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia embraced the boycott whereas Nigeria and Iran did not. Most of Latin America would also take part in the

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Hill, 127.

Games despite their geographic position within the American sphere of influence. Other states, which had no particular relationship with either party, were divided. In the end, of the 146 eligible nations, 81 would participate with the noteworthy exceptions being the U.S., China, West Germany, and Japan.

In the end, neither the worst Soviet fears nor the most optimistic of U.S. hopes were realized. For the Soviets, the Games did take place in Moscow and were of a consistently high athletic caliber. In the course of the Games thirty-six world records and numerous Olympic records were established. "The boycott had little effect on the impression of ordinary Soviet citizens regarding their government in general, and their government's foreign policy in particular."¹⁸⁰ However, the Soviets failed to receive the traditional positive social and economic effects that come with hosting the Games and were unable to step out of the shadows of the West.

On the other hand, while the boycott did reduce the significance of the Games to a mere athletic event, the U.S. was unable to garner the international support that it had desired. It must be stated that even though the vast majority of the governments of the Western European nations did support the boycott movement, many would not apply pressure to their NOCs to enforce the political decision. Domestically, the boycott campaign had positive political consequences for the Carter administration in that he was viewed as able to "get tough" with the Soviets.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, financial losses and economic dislocations were not borne by the U.S. government, but rather by selected corporations, NBC being unquestionably the most affected, and private individuals.

Though overshadowed by the massive publicity given to the boycott, the latent issue left unanswered was whether a significant influx of foreigners might initiate some sort of change within the Soviet Union. While hoping for positive global media response, the anticipated 8,000 journalists dissecting Moscow and Soviet society must have concerned Soviet leaders. Certainly the Soviets were wary of the possibility as it took

¹⁸⁰ Hulme, 78.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 80.

steps to ensure all dissidents (and prostitutes) were removed from the city and enacted strict controls over ordinary travel into and out of Moscow proper. Additionally, Olympic guides were educated that "foreigners may be secret agents, they carry unpleasant diseases, they will try to trap and use people. Do your job but don't be tempted to fraternize."¹⁸² Certainly the effect would not have been as great as that which affected the South Korean government as a result of the 1988 Seoul Games, but the Berlin Wall may have come down earlier than it did.¹⁸³

The closing ceremony would see another effect of the American-led boycott and further impinge upon the Olympic rituals. In the traditional ceremony of raising the flag of the next country to host the Summer Games, the IOC could not use the American flag. The Carter administration had prohibited its display at these Games. Being unaffected by Carter's prohibition, the city of Los Angeles eagerly complied with an IOC request and its city flag waved in Moscow's Lenin Stadium.

Before the flame had been extinguished in Moscow, the Soviets were calling on the IOC to impose sanctions on the U.S. to include taking the 1984 Games away from Los Angeles. This was not the first sign of trouble for Los Angeles. From the time the Games were awarded to Los Angeles on May 18, 1978, controversy surrounded these Games. In the wake of the financially troubled 1976 Montreal Games (these Games lost nearly \$1.2 billion), few cities were eager to host the world. The only other competitor was Tehran, Iran whose bid was withdrawn voluntarily in 1977.

In terms of the boycott, the LAOOC met several times with members of the Soviet Union's NOC between 1979 and 1983. The final meeting, in which a Soviet delegation met in Los Angeles, concluded with the "signing of a protocol agreement . . . related to

¹⁸² As quoted in Hoberman, 77.

¹⁸³ IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch summed up the political value of the Seoul Games: "Apart from being a tremendous success for the whole Olympic family, one could perhaps even say that the Olympic Games in Seoul were a major force behind the rapid democratization of the Republic of Korea and the development of an element of international goodwill, cooperation and fraternity, a new hope for peace." As quoted in Hill, 179.

the entry of the Soviet Olympic delegation into the United States and housing arrangements for them in the Los Angeles area.”¹⁸⁴ Relations would sour with President Reagan calling the Soviet Union the “Evil Empire” and American public outrage with the downing of a Korean Air Lines flight by a Soviet military aircraft killing 269 passengers. However, the head of the Soviet NOC “gave every indication his country intended to participate in the Games . . . but his country would make its decision only in May 1984.”¹⁸⁵

In early April 1984, several stories appeared in the Soviet press concerning the smog, traffic, and crime in Los Angeles. Their primary concern, however, was the security of their athletes and focused on a citizens group called the Ban the Soviets Coalition that was said to be threatening violence against the Soviet team. On May 8, the Soviet NOC, following a decision by the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party five days earlier, announced “it would not participate in the Games because of the dangers that threatened the safety of its athletes.”¹⁸⁶ They would also be quick to state that they were not boycotting the Games, simply refusing to go to Los Angeles, and placing blame on the U.S. government for the situation by “crudely” violating the terms of the *Olympic Charter*.¹⁸⁷

The common belief is that the Soviets decided to not participate in 1984 simply as retribution for four years earlier. While this is certainly part of the reason, it clearly was not simply a reflexive response. In deference to traditional procedures, the U.S. government required all athletes to obtain visas rather than accepting Olympic identity cards with the possibility of refusing entrance to some athletes, coaches, or officials. The U.S. had refused to allow a Soviet attaché to accompany the Soviet team claiming he was

¹⁸⁴ Wayne Wilson, “Los Angeles 1984,” in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 173.

¹⁸⁵ Senn, 194.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

a senior KGB operative. Additionally, with the upcoming U.S. presidential elections, the Soviets may have debated whether they could favorably affect the election results. In the end, however, Reagan was able to use this incident to boost his bid for re-election.

Much in the same manner as in 1980, the "non-participation" had positive and negative results for the Olympic movement. Ultimately, 140 nations would participate, including Romania and Communist China, with fourteen siding with the Soviet Union. Unquestionably, the athletic competition would certainly have benefited from the participation of the Soviet Union and others. However, world and Olympic records were broken and the competition was spirited. The greatest positive effect, as a result of the domination of the U.S. in terms of medals won, was "that the American people became more interested in [the Olympics] than would otherwise have been the case."¹⁸⁸ This would have a tremendous affect of subsequent Games in terms of sponsorship and media coverage. It would also give the Olympic movement a "shot in the arm," with half a dozen candidates striving to win the right to host the Games of 1992 in hopes of equaling the success of Los Angeles.¹⁸⁹

For the Olympic movement itself, the 1980 and 1984 Games had been inserted by the U.S. and the Soviet Union directly into their East-West struggle in a direct and confrontational manner that had previously been avoided. Whereas the Games had always served as an arena for superpower competition, political battles had been waged within the context of the Games itself. The boycott and "non-participation" decisions, in stark contrast to the Olympic creed, elevated the struggle to a plane in which mere participation in the Games became a political statement in the ongoing Cold War.¹⁹⁰ The Olympics were no longer a place where athletes representing the most divergent political persuasions competed simultaneously in the apolitical forum of sport competition.

¹⁸⁸ Hill, 157.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 158.

¹⁹⁰ The Olympic Creed states: "The most important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part, just as the most important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle. The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well." *IOC Charter*.

G. CONCLUSION

The formative years for the Olympic movement unquestionably witnessed the Games become a forum not for sports, but a means of furthering political, ideological, social, and racial expressions. The IOC was forced to adapt to the changing international reality. Some of its ideals were challenged and modified, such as the recognition of territories not recognized by other international organizations. Often, the Olympic movement and the athletic competition it sponsored were used for purely non-athletic gains. With the almost common use of boycotts to attempt to affect changes and their inability to bring international peace, calls for the termination of the Games were certainly made. However, the IOC held steadfast in its belief that the "Games must go on" and that they still were capable of attaining their goals through its ideology founded by a 19th century gentlemen. With the collapse of the Berlin Wall in December 1989 and the division of the Soviet Union, the Olympic movement would move out of the Cold War arena and join the global transformation based on the new world order.

IV. THE OLYMPICS AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Many label the beginning of the new world order as the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. While this is a valid reference point in terms of changes in the international political structure, the Olympic movement experienced a change a few years earlier. Even though previous chapters have focused on the Summer Games, every Olympic celebration, whether summer or winter, since World War II has had some external political influence enter the Olympic arena. This influence has resulted in countries boycotting Games while others were not invited to participate, the death of athletes at the hands of terrorists, and the use of the Games solely for the political gains of governments. After the Games of 1984, most governments realized that the threat and use of boycotts rarely brought the desired outcome. In the years leading to the Seoul Games, the IOC was finally able to chart its own course.

A. THE LAST COLD WAR GAMES

This study has already discussed the origins and results of the superpower-led boycotts of the 1980 and 1984 Games. The Seoul Games would again witness the IOC wading through the international political waters trying to achieve what other international organizations were unable to accomplish. Although no one knew it at the time, the Games of 1988 would be the last to occur in the context of the Cold War and lead the Olympic movement out of the its shadows.

Korea has been divided since decisions made at the Postdam and Yalta conferences following World War II. While the border remains at the 38th parallel, the Soviet-backed North Korea and the American-backed South Korea have certainly had a history of conflict, both militarily and politically. Before the Korean War, a single Korean NOC was recognized with its seat in Seoul. For many of the same reasons as East Germany and Taiwan, the North Koreans wanted their own NOC. After failed attempts and threats by

the IOC to both Koreas to form a joint team, the IOC granted full recognition of the North Korean NOC and they participated in the Games for the first time in 1964. The NOC in Seoul would continue and represent those south of the 38th parallel.

Prior to its selection, Seoul and South Korea had scant tradition of Olympic involvement in international sport, was generally not considered one of the foremost Asian cities, and most significant, was not recognized diplomatically by any of the communist states.¹⁹¹ The risk of the Games suffering from a fourth consecutive boycott by a significant number of countries could have crippled the Olympic movement and grossly devalued the Games' insistence that it was a vehicle for international understanding, peace, and goodwill. Despite the American-led boycott of the Moscow Games in 1980 and the likely tit-for-tat boycott four years later, the IOC, in 1981, selected Seoul as the host of the 1988 Summer Games by a vote of 52-27 over the reported favorite Nagoya, Japan.¹⁹²

The South Koreans were open concerning their motives for wanting to stage the Games. Theirs was not the first country to see the Games as a window on its world. They sought to use the Games as a vehicle to transition from a military government to democratic rule while muscling their way into international trade.¹⁹³ The North Koreans declared that since their brothers to the south were using the Games to further political goals, they were not deserving of the honor of Olympic host. Simultaneously, however, the North Korean regime also insisted on becoming a co-host.¹⁹⁴

While undertaking his version of "shuttle diplomacy," rivaled in mileage only by Henry Kissinger, in an attempt to avert any potential boycotts, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch organized and mediated a series of historic meetings between the two Koreas. Although there was no precedent for sharing the Games that are awarded to a

¹⁹¹ Ron Palenski, "Seoul 1988," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 178.

¹⁹² For possible explanations see *Ibid.*, 178-9 and Hill, 167-8.

¹⁹³ Palenski, 179.

¹⁹⁴ Senn, 221.

city, not a country, and certainly not to a combination of countries, Samaranch was willing to overlook Olympic rules and discuss possible co-hosting options.¹⁹⁵ The first meeting was held at Lausanne, Switzerland on October 8-9, 1985. The North Koreans insisted on co-hosting what would be called the "Pyongyang-Seoul Games" with two opening and closing ceremonies.¹⁹⁶ The IOC did not approve the proposal, but it also did not exclude the idea of sharing some sports or events.

On June 11, 1986, Samaranch revealed a compromise proposal that would leave Seoul as the host of the Games but would allow the North Koreans the chance to stage the archery and table tennis competitions while sharing some events in cycling and soccer. While the South Koreans grudgingly accepted, the North Koreans remained insistent on co-hosting the Games. They also wanted a share of the television revenues.¹⁹⁷ In February 1987, the North Koreans had accepted Samaranch's proposal, but insisted more sports be contested in Pyongyang. A few months later, they would formally demand the right to host eight sports, including the entire soccer competition, and television revenues.¹⁹⁸ The IOC and South Korea refused to accept the demands and, in July, countered with what Samaranch called an "unprecedented" and "historic" offer of a total of ten events in four sports plus a preliminary round in the soccer competition.¹⁹⁹ The North Koreans, however, steadfastly held to their demands.

With governments in the Eastern Europe declaring themselves "satisfied with developments in South Korea" and announcing their intentions, including the Soviet

¹⁹⁵ The argument can certainly be made that Samaranch never intended to grant co-host distinction upon North Korea, but simply entertained the idea long enough and with enough vigor to persuade the communist bloc to participate.

¹⁹⁶ Hill, 172.

¹⁹⁷ Senn, 222.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 223.

¹⁹⁹ As quoted in Ibid., 224.

Union, to participate in Seoul, the boycott threat was over.²⁰⁰ This, coupled with the downing of a South Korean aircraft by the North in November 1987, ended any opportunity North Korea had in staging any portion of the Games.

Due to concerns of North Korean and other domestic and intrastate organizations disrupting the Games, security was increased at the 38th parallel and within the city limits of Seoul. The Soviets stationed a ship in the harbor to provide a place of haven where their athletes could feel comfortable, but could also serve as a safe-haven. The U.S. decided it was necessary to conduct military exercises in the region and “stationed two aircraft carriers off Seoul as a warning to the North.”²⁰¹ While demonstrations and protests occurred during the Games, the security structure was never challenged.

When the Games opened, just six NOCs chose not to attend.²⁰² The athletic competition was spirited with the first Olympic meeting of the two superpowers since 1976. One of the most anticipated events was the final in the 100-meter run and the match-up between Canadian Ben Johnson and American Carl Lewis. Both had made claims of being the world’s fastest human, but Johnson had won the race setting a new world record in the process. Two days later, IOC officials revoked his medal and his world record was voided by the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) after he failed an obligatory drug test. While he was certainly not the first nor last person to have been caught “cheating,” Johnson is still by far the most recognized linkage between the Olympics and the use of drugs by athletes. Second only to the structural reforms of the IOC in the wake of the Salt Lake City bribery scandal, the practice and eradication of doping remains at the forefront of problems facing the Olympic movement today.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 225.

²⁰¹ Hill, 174-5.

²⁰² North Korea and Cuba stated it would not compete unless the Games were held in both Koreas, Nicaragua stayed away citing difficulties at home, and Albania, Ethiopia, and the Seychelles did not respond to their invitations. Palenski, 182.

²⁰³ For a more in-depth discussion of drug use in the Olympics, see Robert Voy, *Drugs, Sport, and Politics* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1991). There are numerous sources available through the Internet

For South Korea, the 1988 Olympics brought about a significant change in the country's international standing. Political relations were established with the communist countries and a trade office was established in the PRC. For the IOC, the Olympic family had been reunited and it appeared that the Games would finally be able to step out of the shadows of the Cold War. While there was growing criticism over the use of drugs and commercialization, once again the Games could be seen as promoting "international goodwill, cooperation and fraternity, a new hope for peace."²⁰⁴ This revival would continue to flourish in the years leading to the Games of 1992.

B. BARCELONA – THE TRANSITION GAMES

The Seoul Games of 1988 were the last vestiges of Cold War politics within the Olympic movement. In previous years and climaxing in 1980 and 1984, the superpower governments had initiated or influenced challenges to the Olympic ideals. However, in 1988, these leaders, and the communist bloc specifically, reversed their previous trends. The lack of support by the communist bloc to its North Korean client certainly aided in the return of the Games to more peaceful and global celebration. The collapse of the Berlin Wall would allow the Games to further capitalize on this sense of international goodwill.

The city of Barcelona submitted four previous bids to host the Games. In 1924, amid allegations against Baron de Coubertin, then IOC President, of favoritism, it was defeated by Paris. In 1936, Berlin was chosen, but, as discussed previously, Barcelona was to host "alternative" Games in protest of Nazi policies until the Spanish Civil War intervened. They bid for the follow-on Games in 1940, which were bestowed upon Tokyo, but never celebrated. Finally, in 1972, they were bested by another German city,

on the IOC's anti-doping campaign including the IOC's website (www.olympic.org) and from the international conference held in February 1999 (www.nodoping.org).

²⁰⁴ Hill, 179.

Munich. With the opportunity of staging the Games in IOC President Samaranch's backyard, the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus' voyage to the Americas, and Spain's recent entry into the European Community, it was hoped that the Games would finally be celebrated in Barcelona. Against other bids from Paris; Amsterdam; Brisbane, Australia; Birmingham, England; and Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Barcelona was selected in October 1986 to host the world six years later.

During the preparations, disputes pertaining to Barcelona's and the Catalonia region's relationship with the government in Madrid arose.²⁰⁵ After decades of strife under Franco and living in the shadow of Madrid, the organizers were determined to prepare the Games with minimal assistance from the national government and to have the Games reflect the region's character. In what must be viewed as a compromise, the Catalan flag was permitted to be flown alongside those of Barcelona and Spain at all Olympic-related events and sites and Catalan was accepted as the fourth official language of the 1992 Games with English, French, and Spanish.²⁰⁶

No sooner had Spain's internal differences been resolved than the world political situation began to change. With the destruction of the Berlin Wall, Germany fielded a unified team for the first time since 1964. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared independence from the Soviet Union and were welcomed back into the Olympic family for the first time since the 1930s. In an attempt to curb further destruction of the Soviet empire, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, and other smaller republics formed a new state, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). For the Barcelona Games, CIS team members marched into the Olympic stadium under a newly designed Olympic flag and were announced as contestants for the Unified Team, not their homelands. For team sports, whether ceremonies or victories, they would use the Olympic flag and the Olympic

²⁰⁵ Catalonia is an autonomous region with a distinct culture and language.

²⁰⁶ Larry Maloney, "Barcelona 1992," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 186-7.

hymn. Individual medal winners, however, stood to their country's flag and heard their national anthems.²⁰⁷

The deteriorating situation in Yugoslavia presented the IOC further problems. The new states of Croatia and Slovenia received full IOC recognition and had, along with Yugoslavia, competed in the 1994 Winter Games in Albertville, France. Just days before the opening ceremonies in Barcelona, the newly independent Bosnia and Herzegovina was granted provisional membership, which allowed it to march under its own flag.²⁰⁸ Yugoslavian athletes were initially denied entry into Spain because of United Nations' sanctions, but a last-minute decision by the United Nations allowed athletes in individual sports to compete as individuals under the Olympic flag and anthem.

With the end of the Cold War, it was hoped that the Barcelona Games would be free of boycotts. Two issues threatened to dash this hope. The first issue involved American basketball player Ervin "Magic" Johnson's admission that he was infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. Despite numerous calls for players to not compete against Johnson since "he was a threat to their health," there was never a serious threat that teams would boycott the Games.²⁰⁹ The second issue centered on the city of Banyoles, the site of the rowing competition and a stuffed African man called "El Negro." El Negro has been on display in Banyoles since the late 1800s and numerous African nations threatened to boycott unless he was removed. Despite efforts by the IOC, town officials refused to remove him and the African boycott quietly faded.

Not all decisions facing the IOC and the organizing committee were so daunting. As previously discussed, the Games in Barcelona would witness the return of South Africa

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 188 and Senn, 239. Had Western corporate sponsors, including Adidas and Turner Broadcasting System, not provided financial assistance to the CIS team, it may not have appeared in Barcelona or the Winter Games in Albertville, France two years earlier.

²⁰⁸ Maloney, 189.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 190. The organizing committee did provide 2 million condoms for free distribution in the Olympic Village during the Games and Samaranch promised Johnson IOC assistance in an AIDS education effort.

after nearly thirty years of exile. The IOC decided that South Africa warranted reentry into the Olympic family since it had made sufficient gains in integrating its society and dismantling its apartheid practices. Cuba, Ethiopia, and North Korea would also return to Olympic competition.

When the Olympic flame was extinguished in Barcelona, nearly ten thousand athletes from 172 countries had competed, records that were surpassed four years later. The Olympic Games and movement emerged from the Cold War stronger than many would have ventured to guess. Its ideals, though challenged, remained intact and its popularity soared. The focus of the Olympic world would now turn to Atlanta and the celebration of the Centennial Games.

C. THE CENTENNIAL GAMES

In selecting the host city for the centennial celebration of the modern Olympic movement, the natural and sentimental choice was certainly Athens. While Greece was the home of the ancient Games and Athens had hosted the first Games in 1896, they had not since been the site of official Olympic competition.²¹⁰ While four other cities, Belgrade, Manchester, Melbourne, and Toronto, had submitted bids, the final vote was between Atlanta and Athens with Atlanta being victorious 51-35.²¹¹ The Greeks were outraged over the decision and, in similar tones as in 1896, called on the IOC to establish Athens as the permanent home of the Games. George Lianis, Greece's Deputy Minister of Sport would wonder why Greece did not host the Games "even once in the 20th century, while we were holding them for 13 whole centuries."²¹²

²¹⁰ Athens did host the 1906 Intercalated Games, which some consider worthy of being referred to as Olympic Games, but are not considered by the IOC as official Games.

²¹¹ Senn, 249.

²¹² Ibid., 248.

The proposed locations of events in areas surrounding Atlanta also met with intense criticism. Cobb County was to host the preliminary volleyball competition, but lost the honor after protests erupted and county officials announced it would not rescind a resolution stating that "homosexual lifestyles were not compatible with the community's values."²¹³ The rowing and canoeing events had to be moved from Stone Mountain Park after it was determined that the removal of an island, in order to construct temporary facilities, was not beneficial to the natural park. Organizers had made efforts to include golf in the Olympic program with the infamous Augusta National Golf Club as host. Augusta National's reputation for excluding women and minorities caused concern. Ultimately National was dropped, as was the sport, from consideration.

A more pressing problem for the organizing committee was the necessity to protect the world's athletes. The increase in terrorist activities on American soil, including the bombings of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City and the World Trade Center and the uncertainty surrounding the crash of TWA Flight 800, were concerns of the organizers. Their worst fears came true when a bomb exploded in Centennial Park, an unsecured park created to serve ticket holders and casual visitors alike, in the early morning of July 27.²¹⁴ The bomb itself did not seem to have a specific target and its purpose has remained obscure since its creator is still at large. However, its effect was clear and memories of Munich resurfaced: one person was killed, one hundred injured, and a reporter later died of a heart attack.²¹⁵ After brief consideration, IOC leaders echoed their decision in Munich: the Games must go on.

Nor was there any shortage of international problems. In light of recent disputes and historic differences with Cuba, questions arose whether Cuban athletes would be allowed to enter the U.S. Israeli officials complained that the presence of a Palestinian

²¹³ Maloney, "Atlanta 1996," 196.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 256.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

Arab delegation would compromise the Middle East peace process. Atlanta Plus, a coalition of women's groups, called on the IOC to follow the example of its past South African policy and ban Iran and other Muslim countries that discriminated against female athletes.²¹⁶ Despite the potential problems, 10,744 athletes representing 197 nations competed in the Centennial Games.

D. SYDNEY AND BEYOND

The first Summer and Winter Games of the 21st century will be staged in cities that have not hosted Olympic competition previously. This study has already examined the controversial two-vote victory of Sydney over Beijing. It is interesting to note that Melbourne gained the right to hold the 1956 Games by one vote (21-20) over Buenos Aires.²¹⁷ Salt Lake City, on the other hand, won handedly over its competitors on the first round of balloting.²¹⁸ Despite the differences in voting results, both have, and will likely be further, the stage of political debate.

While both are under scrutiny of environmental organizations, the primary issue affecting both Games is the bribery scandal. The scandal stemmed from Salt Lake City's bidders lavishing cash payoffs and expensive gifts on IOC members to secure votes. It is not the intention of this study to examine the moral issues surrounding the investigation nor the possible reforms that are being demanded by financial sponsors and examined by a select commission. This is for others to discuss after all the facts are available. However,

²¹⁶ Senn, 253-4. Iran would send its first female competitor, a target shooter, to the Atlanta Games.

²¹⁷ Max L. Howell, "Sydney 2000," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 201.

²¹⁸ The voting results were:

Salt Lake City	54
Östersund, Switzerland	14
Sion, France	14
Quebec	7

there have been political demands, especially within the U.S., of which one will be briefly discussed.

In April 1999, Samaranch declined an invitation to testify before a Senate committee hearing that was investigating the scandal and the findings and recommendations of the *Mitchell Commission Report*.²¹⁹ The Chairman of the Committee, Senator John McCain responded, "[a]pparently Mr. Samaranch doesn't understand the gravity of the situation for the future of the Olympic movement."²²⁰ The committee was considering measures that would reduce or eliminate tax breaks for U.S. firms sponsoring the IOC and mandating any U.S. television rights fees be paid to the U.S. Olympic Committee vice the IOC. Both of these measures would be staggering blows to the IOC because nine of the top eleven IOC sponsors are U.S. firms who pay ten to fifteen million dollars per year. Also, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) has signed a 3.5 billion-dollar deal for the U.S. Olympic television rights through 2008.²²¹ While the committee has not made any formal recommendations, the issue is also not resolved.

In September 1997, Athens was selected to host the Summer Games in 2004. While they, and Sydney, have also been linked to the bribery scandal, the fervor should subside by the time the Games are celebrated. For Athens, the Games are returning to their ancestral home and the organizing committee has promised to link the ancient and

²¹⁹ The *Mitchell Commission Report* is from the Special Bid Oversight Commission chaired by Senator George Mitchell. The Commission was to review "the circumstances surrounding Salt Lake City's bid to host the Olympic Winter Games," and to make recommendations "to improve the policies and procedures related to bid processes." While it did state that the Salt Lake City Organizing Committee and the U.S. Olympic Committee were not innocent, they were also not solely to blame: "they did not invent this culture; they joined one that was already flourishing." Senator George J. Mitchell and others, *Report of the Special Bid Oversight Commission*, available online <<http://www.usoc.org/usonn/mar99/mitchell.doc>>.

²²⁰ Jim Slater, "Samaranch refuses to testify at U.S. hearing on Olympic Scandal," available online <<http://www.sportserver.com>> [30 March 1999].

²²¹ Ibid.

modern Games during the two-week celebration.²²² While Sydney won the right to host the world in September 2000, there must still linger a perception that they were undeserving given the controversial “cultural” vote.²²³ For these Games, external political influence and struggles must certainly be expected to increase before the Olympic flame is lit in their respective cities.

E. CONCLUSION

For the last decade, the Olympic movement has been able to determine its own fate. The end of the Cold War allowed the IOC to no longer be manipulated by external governmental forces and specifically the superpowers. Each of the Games discussed in this chapter has witnessed the participation by more athletes representing more nations than the previous Game. It is during this period that the once powerful “big red machine” of the Soviet Union has been dismantled into numerous smaller machines. South Korea was able to reestablish political and economic ties with the former communist countries. The Games also celebrated one hundred years of staging the premier athletic competition. This period witnessed the Games returning to the ideals of Coubertin and his vision of the Games symbolizing international peace. Events within the last year have placed the IOC under a microscope and have postponed the achievement of Coubertin’s vision.

The current issues facing the IOC are demands for reform throughout the IOC, the end of athletes using and skirting the system concerning performance-enhancing drugs, commercial sponsorship and the distribution of revenue to the NOCs, and gigantism, the ever-growing number of sports and events contested. These issues are raised by governments, corporations, media, public, and athletes. The bribery scandal will pass and the IOC and the Olympic movement will become stronger, unless derailed by the selfish

²²² Athens 2004 Organizing Committee, *Welcoming Address*, available online <<http://www.athens2004.gr/en/>>.

²²³ Huntington, 197.

decisions of governments. The second century of the Olympic movement will not likely have the turbulence experienced during the first hundred years. Their popular appeal will undoubtedly continue as will increased attention from organizations, groups, and individuals who want to somehow enter into the celebration for personal gains, either athletically, politically or financially, or simply to watch an athletic competition.

V. CONCLUSION

Political influence throughout the Olympic Games, both ancient and modern, has unquestionably reflected the currents of the international political system. From boycotts to banishment on the state level and from defection to death of individual athletes, those who have trained for their chance at Olympic gold have been directly affected by domestic and international politics. It has been the primary focus of this study to examine the extent that external political influence has influenced decisions by the IOC and the Olympic movement. However, it was also the hope that this study would uncover the positive affects the Olympic movement has had on international politics and society.

Since the decree issued by Emperor Theodosius I in 393 C.E. to abolish the ancient Games, politics has remained a constant force within the Olympic movement. The very foundation for the rebirth of the Games in 1894 can be traced back to the nationalistic beliefs of Baron de Coubertin. His determination that France specifically, and other nations in general, would gain from an improved physical education system coupled with his idealistic and romantic conception of internationalism that would lead to increased interaction between different cultures became the basis for the rebirth of the Olympic Games. Coubertin formed the IOC in 1894 to popularize his ideas of universal sportsmanship and goodwill without political encumbrance, to appeal to governments for support of their athletes on a nonpolitical basis, and to provide an international governing body for the Olympic Games.²²⁴ Despite Coubertin's ideal of an organization without political biases, the IOC has always mirrored the world political situation.

In its 105-year history, the IOC has been faced with a myriad of challenges. From demands that the Games be permanently staged in Greece to the cultural victory for the first Games of the 21st century, the choice of the host city has often been controversial.

²²⁴ Kathy Nichols, "Michael Morris, Lord Killanin," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Wesport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 382.

The decisions and pressure exerted by governments have led to numerous boycotts as well as nations not receiving invitations to participate in Olympic competition. The Games have been cancelled due to two world wars and used as a pawn in regional conflicts and the Cold War. Athletes were massacred in order to make a political statement. The Games were used as a vehicle to further a political ideology.

The Olympics have provided an international stage for nations to be presented and contrasted. The Olympics, and particularly the Opening Ceremonies, provide key arenas for nations to assert their identities as nations among other nations. Only during the parade of nations do athletes from every team gain global attention as they march before the Olympic audience as representatives of their country. It is an indication of the importance countries attach to representation that even countries which cannot expect to be competitive athletically go to the expense of sending teams.

By now, it should be apparent that the Olympics are more than an athletic competition. For approximately two weeks every two years, it becomes the focal point for billions of people from all regions of the globe as they witness and cheer for their athletes who represent their country and, hence, their culture. It is also a stage for individuals, groups, or states to express their interests, beliefs, or plight. It should not be surprising to find a history of political influence and even violence throughout the Games. With the billions of potential viewers, it is the ideal forum for individuals or groups to bring their ideology to the forefront of global attention. Given the dramatically changing international political environment, the various forms and magnitude of violence, and the increased interest in sport competition that has been witnessed during the last century, it is startling that the Games have been as free from political influence as they have been.

The modern Olympic movement has also allowed the world to rest its economic engine, assisted people in turning their backs from division and war, and encouraged a global audience to look toward a city that becomes, if only for a fortnight, the capital of the world. Cities and nations have benefited from the increased global attention to improve not only their international diplomatic and economic ties, but also their

infrastructure and domestic woes. The Games have and remain virtually the only occasion when the anthem of one nation can be played without arousing any hostility against another. The Games have become a powerful global symbol of unity, excellence and peace.

Prior to the 1972 Munich Games, German President Gustav Heinemann acknowledged that the Games alone would not "be able to banish disputes and discord, violence and war from the world, even for a short time," but he welcomed them as "a milestone on the road to a new way of life with the aim of realizing peaceful coexistence among peoples."²²⁵ This is merely a modern variation of what Coubertin coined Olympism: the education and cultivation of individuals through sport, the cultivation of the relationship between men in society, the promotion of international understanding and peace, and the worship of human greatness and possibility. Despite the vast instances of political intrusion into the Olympic movement, it has survived and prospered while, with a few exceptions, adhering to its founding principles.

The IOC has demonstrated its ability to cross borders and address international issues of immense political complexity. The real challenge for the Olympic movement in the future will be to devise a formula that acknowledges past pragmatism and adjustment but without compromising Coubertin's vision. It must place twenty-first century Olympism, its principles of elite competition, fair play, and unique interaction of sport and culture and mind and body, into a sustaining framework that the youth of the world can continue to morally aspire towards and that society at large can recognize and continue to respect.

There are very few historical experiences that the world holds in common. The Olympic Games are one. It is this commonality that allows Peruvians, Thais, Belgians, and Kenyans to simultaneously gasp when a Romanian gymnast falls off the balance beam or a Finn fails to land a ski jump. It is also the reason why Americans, Germans, Russians, and Chinese applaud the efforts of a Cypriot skier or a Seychellian boxer. Despite the

²²⁵ Brichford, 148.

years of bloodshed and hatred between the Arabs and Israelis, the clashes between the North and South Koreans, and quest for independence by nations in the Balkans, the Olympic Games allow, if only for a moment, everyone to feel like a citizen of the world. This was the highest aspiration of Baron de Coubertin in 1894 and remains the ultimate goal of the modern Olympic movement today.

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